A CONCISE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

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CHAPTER I.

HENRY IV.

*HENRY the fourth, knowing the weakness of his title, was determined to give his coronation all possible solemnity. But still he was in fear for the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament the true heir of the crown, was still alive, although yet but a boy of seven years of age. Him Henry detained, together with his younger brother, in an honourable custody, at Windsor castle.

Yet he found that the throne of an usurper is ever a bed of thorns. Such violent animosities broke out among the barons, in the first session of his parliament, that forty challenges were given and received, and forty gauntlets thrown down. But though these commotions were suppressed for that time, they soon broke

* A. D. 1399.

out into rebellion; and a conſpiracy was ſet on foot for ſeizing Henry at Windſor, and replacing Richard on the throne, who was ſuppoſed to be yet alive. This plot was ſet on foot by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and lord Spencer. The particulars of their ſcheme were committed to writing, and each of the confederates had a copy ſigned by all the reſt. Among the number of theſe, was the duke of Aumerle, who was furniſhed with a paper, which he dropt out of his boſom as he was ſitting one day at dinner with his father the duke of York. The father privately took it up, and to his great aſtoniſhment diſcovered the contents, which he reſolved, with all diligence, to diſcover to the king, and accordingly rode off to Windſor, where the court then reſided. But the ſon gueſſing the cauſe of his father's expedition, haſtening by a ſhorter way, diſcovered the whole to the king, and obtained the royal pardon before his father could arrive.

* While Henry employed the moſt vigorous efforts to diſpel the riſing ſtorm, the rebel army became conſiderable, and encamped near Cirenceſter, the leaders taking up their head-quarters within the city. Yet ſo careleſs were they, that they neglected to place guards at the gates and the avenues of the place. This was quickly perceived by the mayor of the town, who, aſſembling four hundred men in the night, ſecured the gates, ſo as to exclude the army encamped without, and then attacked the chiefs within. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury were taken, after an

* A. D. 1400.

an obſtinate reſiſtance, and beheaded on the ſpot by the mayor's order. The earls of Huntington, and lord Spencer, eſcaped over the tops of the houſes into the camp, in hopes of ſtorming the town at the head of their forces; but they had the mortification to find the tents and baggage abandoned by the ſoldiers, who, upon hearing the tumult within, had concluded, that a party of the king's army had entered privately, and ſo fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

The two lords endeavoured to conceal themſelves ſeparately; but they were ſoon taken, and loſt their heads upon the ſcaffold. Their deaths were ſoon after followed by thoſe of Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely; and when the quarters of theſe unhappy men were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen biſhops, and thirty-four mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the moſt indecent marks of joy and exultation. In this ſhocking proceſſion, was ſeen the earl of Rutland carrying the head of lord Spencer, his brother in-law, in triumph, after having betrayed him. This miſcreant had been long enured to blood and treachery: he was inſtrumental in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Glouceſter; he ſoon after deſerted Richard, and joined Henry; not long after, he entered into a conſpiracy againſt this monarch; and now, at laſt, betrayed thoſe very aſſociates whom he had ſeduced into this enterprize.

But the ſuppreſſion of a ſingle rebellion was not ſufficient to give quiet to the kingdom.

The king of France had actually raiſed a vaſt armament to invade England; but a truce was ſoon after concluded for eight and twenty years; and it was agreed, that queen Iſabel, who had been married to Richard, but whoſe marriage had never been conſummated, ſhould return to France, her native country. The Scotch, ſhortly after, began to renew their ancient diſturbances; and while the Engliſh army marched northward to oppoſe their incurſions, the Welſh, on the other ſide, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, attacked the kingdom. Many were the petty victories gained, and the ravages committed on either part. The name of Owen Glendour is reſpected among his countrymen to this day; but as all his conqueſts procured no laſting advantage, they are ſcarce worth a place in hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that whatever honour the Engliſh loſt on the ſide of Wales, they gained an equivalent on that of Scotland; the Welſh maintained their ground, although their chieftain, Glendour, was taken priſoner, while the Scotch ſtill fled before the Engliſh.

In the year 1401 the famous ſtatute for burning heretics was made; in virtue of which William Sawtre rector of St. Oſith in London was ſoon after burnt in Smithfield.

† It was in a ſkirmiſh between the Scotch and the Engliſh, that Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scotch nobility, were taken priſoners by the earl of Northumberland. This ſucceſs was conſidered at firſt as of ſignal advantage; but it was ſoon attended

† A. D. 1402.

tended with conſequences that were fatal to the victors. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl orders not to ranſom his priſoners, as he intended to detain them, in order to encreaſe his demands, in making peace with Scotland. This meſſage was highly reſented by the earl of Northumberland, who, by the laws of war that prevailed in that age, had a right to the ranſom of all ſuch as he had taken in battle. The command was ſtill more irkſome, as he thought the king his debtor, both for ſecurity and his crown. Indeed, the obligations which Henry owed him, were of a nature likely to produce ingratitude on the one ſide, and diſcontent on the other. The prince naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the ſubject thought himſelf entitled to every favour the crown had to beſtow. Not but that Henry had already conferred the higheſt honours upon him; he had made him conſtable of the kingdom, and given him ſeveral other employments; but nothing could ſatisfy his ambition. ‡ Accordingly, a ſcheme was laid, in which the Scotch and Welſh were to unite their forces, and to aſſiſt Northumberland in elevating Mortimer, as the true heir, to the crown of England. When all things were prepared, the earl was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick. But the the want of his preſence was well ſupplied by his ſon Harry Percy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, who took the command of the troops, and marched them towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with

‡ A. D. 1403.

thoſe of Glendour, who, ſome time before, had been exchanged from priſon, and had now advanced with his forces as far as Shropſhire. Henry who had received no intelligence of their deſigns, was at firſt greatly ſurpriſed. But having a ſmall army in readineſs, which he had intended againſt the Scotch, and knowing the importance of diſpatch, he inſtantly hurried down to Shrewſbury, that he might give the rebels battle.

Upon the approach of the two armies, both ſides ſeemed to ſhew a deſire of reconciliation; but when they opened their mutual demands, the treaty was turned into abuſe and recrimination. On one ſide was objected rebellion and ingratitude; on the other tyranny and uſurpation. The two armies were pretty nearly equal, each conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men; the animoſity on both ſides was inflamed to the higheſt pitch; and no prudence or military ſkill could determine on which ſide the victory might incline. Accordingly, a very bloody engagement enſued, in which the generals on both ſides exerted themſelves with great bravery. Henry was ſeen every where in the thickeſt of the fight; while his valiant ſon, fought by his ſide, and, though wounded in the face by an arrow, ſtill kept the field, and performed aſtoniſhing acts of valour. On the other ſide, the daring Hotſpur ſupported that renown, which he had acquired in ſo many bloody engagements, and every where ſought out the king as a noble object of his indignation. At laſt, however, his death, by an arrow, decided the victory; and

and Henry once more prevailed. On that bloody day, two thouſand three hundred gentlemen were ſlain, and about ſix thouſand private men, of whom two thirds were of Hotſpur's army.

Meantime Northumberland, who was lately recovered from his indiſpoſition, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of the malcontents. But hearing by the way of his ſon's and his brother's misfortune, he diſmiſſed his troops, not daring to keep the field with ſo ſmall a force. For a while he attempted to find ſafety by flight, but at laſt being preſſed by his purſuers, and finding himſelf totally without reſourſe, he choſe to throw himſelf upon the king's mercy. § Upon his appearing before Henry at York, he received a pardon; Henry probably thinking that he was ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his favourite ſon.

But the extinction of one rebellion only ſeemed to give riſe to another. The archbiſhop of York, entered into a confederacy with the earl of Nottingham, and the earl of Northumberland, ſo lately pardoned, to dethrone the king, and ſet young Mortimer in his place. Had the forces of theſe inſurgents co-operated with thoſe that were ſo lately overthrown, they might have overpowered any body of men, which the king could bring into the field; but they began their operations, juſt when their confederates were defeated. The earl of Weſtmoreland, who had been ſent againſt them with a very inferior force, demanded a conference, to which they

§ A. D. 1404.

readily conſented. The chiefs, on each ſide, met at Skipton, and, in the preſence of both armies, entered upon their grievances and complaints. The archbiſhop loudly deplored the nation's injuries and his own; the earl not only allowed the juſtice of his remonſtrances, but begged of him to propoſe the remedies. The archbiſhop entered upon many ſtipulations, and the earl granted them all. He now, therefore, entreated, that ſince they had nothing more to aſk or to fear, they would diſmiſs their forces. ‖ The inſurgents immediately diſbanded their troops, while he gave private orders that his own army ſhould not diſperſe till further notice; and thus having diſqualified them for defence, inſtantly ſeizing upon the archbiſhop, and the earl of Northampton, he carried them to the king at Pontefract. The form of a trial was an unneceſſary ceremony, to men whoſe fate was predetermined; the archbiſhop of York was the firſt prelate who was capitally puniſhed in England, the earl of Nottingham ſhared the ſame fate, and the earl of Northumberland found ſafety by flying into Scotland; but he was * ſlain in a year or two after, in an incurſion, by Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire.

All this time the prince of Wales carried on the war againſt Owen Glendour; who after ſeveral defeats, died † at his daughter's houſe in Herefordſhire, where he was entertained under the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd.

‡ The king now, at the requeſt of the commons granted a general amneſty, and created his

‖ A. D. 1405. * A. D. 1407. † A. D. 1409.
‡ A. D. 1411.

his three ſons, John, Thomas and Humphrey, dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Glouceſter.

By theſe means Henry ſeemed to ſurmount all his troubles; and the calm, which was thus produced, was employed by him in endeavours to acquire the popularity, which he had loſt by his preceding ſeverities exerciſed during the preceding part of his reign. * He often permitted the houſe of commons to aſſume powers, which had not been exerciſed by their predeceſſors. When they voted him the ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended; and required them to deliver in their accounts to the houſe. They propoſed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's houſhold; and, preſerved their privileges, more entire during his reign, than that of any of his predeceſſors. But while the king laboured to retrieve the reputation he had loſt, his ſon Henry, prince of Wales, ſeemed equally bent on incurring the public averſion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery; and ever choſe to be ſurrounded by a ſet of wretches, who took pride in committing the moſt illegal acts, with the prince at their head. Such were the exceſſes into which he ran, that one of his diſſolute companions having been brought to trial before Sir William Gaſcoigne, chief juſtice of the king's bench, for ſome miſdemeanor, the prince was ſo exaſperated that he ſtruck the judge in open court. The venerable magiſtrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his ſtation, behaved with a

* A. D. 1412.

dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to priſon. When this tranſaction was reported to the king, he could not help exclaiming in a tranſport; "Happy is the king, that "has a magiſtrate endowed with courage to "execute the laws upon ſuch an offender; "ſtill more happy in having a ſon willing "to ſubmit to ſuch a chaſtiſement." This, in fact, is one of the firſt great inſtances we read in the Engliſh hiſtory, of a magiſtrate doing juſtice in oppoſition to power; ſince upon many former occaſions, we find the judges only miniſters of royal caprice.

Henry, whoſe health had for ſome time been declining, did not long out-live this tranſaction. He was ſubject to fits, which bereaved him for the time, of his ſenſes; and which, at laſt brought on the near approach of death at Weſtminſter. As his conſtitution decayed, his fears of loſing the crown redoubled, even to a childiſh anxiety. He could not be perſwaded to ſleep, unleſs the royal diadem were laid upon his pillow. As he was one day in a violent fit, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away; but the king ſoon after recovering, demanded what was become of it? Being informed that the prince of Wales had carried it off: "What! ſaid the king, would he rob me "of my right before my death?" But the prince juſt then entering the room, aſſured his father that he had no ſuch motives, replaced the crown where he had found it; and having received his father's bleſſing, retired. The king was taken with his laſt fit,

while

while he was at his devotions before the ſhrine of St. Edward the Confeſſor, in Weſtminſter Abbey, and from thence he was carried to the Jeruſalem chamber. When he had recovered from his ſwoon, perceiving himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know if the apartment had any particular name: being informed that it was called the Jeruſalem Chamber, he ſaid, he then perceived a prophecy was fulfilled, which declared that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem. He ſoon after expired, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

If we conſider this monarch on one ſide of his character, he will appear worthy applauſe; if on the other, of our warmeſt indignation. As a man, he was valiant, prudent, cool, and ſagacious. Theſe virtues adorned him in his private character; nor did his vices appear, 'till ambition brought him within ſight of a throne: it was then that he was diſcovered to be unjuſt, cruel, gloomy and tyrannical; and though his reign contributed much to the happineſs of his ſubjects, yet it was entirely deſtructive of his own. After all the blood that he had ſhed, in ſecuring his ill-gotten crown, and after an uninterrupted ſeries of troubles, when he began to promiſe himſelf happier days, he was cut off in the ſtrength of his years!

CHAP. II.

HENRY V.

*THE death of Henry IV. gave the people little concern, as he had always governed them rather by their fears than their affections. But the rejoicings made for the ſucceſſion of his ſon, notwithſtanding his extravagancies, were manifeſt and ſincere. In the very height of the revel, he would often give inſtances of the nobleſt diſpoſition; but it was his courage which in that martial age chiefly won the people's affection.

The firſt ſteps taken by the young king confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions in his favour. He called together his former companions, exhorted them to follow his example; and diſmiſſed them from his preſence, allowing them a competency to ſubſiſt upon. The faithful miniſters of his father, at firſt trembled for their former juſtice, in the adminiſtration of their duty; but he ſoon eaſed them of their fears, by taking them into his friendſhip and confidence. Sir William Gaſcoigne, who was the moſt obnoxious, met with praiſes inſtead of reproaches, and was exhorted to perſevere in the ſame impartial execution of juſtice.

But

* A. D. 1413.

But Henry did not ſtop here; he ſhewed himſelf willing to correct, not only his own errors, but thoſe of the former reign. He expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for the unhappy Richard, and ordered his funeral obſequies to be performed with royal ſolemnity. He ſeemed ambitious to bury all party-diſtinctions in oblivion, the good men of either party were dear to him; and the bad, vainly alledged their loyalty as an extenuation of their vices. The exhortations as well as the example of the prince gave encouragement to virtue; all parties were equally attached to ſo juſt a prince, and the defects of his title were forgot.

In this manner, the people ſeemed happy in their new king; but it is ſeldom in the power of man to raiſe himſelf entirely above the prejudices of the age in which he lives. The clergy were reſolved to continue their ancient power, not by reforming themſelves, but by perſecuting others. The hereſy of Wickliff, or Lollardiſm, as it was called, began to ſpread more and more, while it received a new luſtre from the protection of Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domeſtics, and ſtood high in his favour. His character, both for civil and military excellence, pointed him out to Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim; and he applied to the king for permiſſion to indict lord Cobham, as a miſcreant guilty of hereſy. But the prince reſolved firſt to try what effect reaſon and perſuaſion would produce. He accordingly deſired

fired a private conference with lord Cobham; but he found him determined rather to part with life, than a good conſcience. He therefore gave him up to the fury of his enemies, who condemned him to be burnt alive But eſcaping from the Tower, the day before his execution, he retired into Wales.

In January, 1714, many of the Lollards aſſembling by night in St. Giles's fields, the king coming upon them at midnight took about eighty of them, thirty-ſeven of whom were hanged. Four years after Lord Cobham himſelf was taken and hung up with a chain by the middle; and thus at a ſlow fire burned, or rather roaſted, alive.

Charles the ſixth now king of France was ſubject to frequent fits of lunacy. During his diſeaſe, his vaſſals and courtiers grew powerful from their ſovereign's weakneſs. The adminiſtration of affairs was diſputed between his brother Lewis, duke of Orleans, and his couſin-german, John, duke of Burgundy. Iſabella, his queen, alſo had her party. Each of theſe, as they happened to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors; and the gibbets were at once hung with the bodies of the accuſed and the accuſers. This was thought by Henry a favourable opportunity to recover from France thoſe grants that had been formerly given up by treaty. † But previouſly he ſent over ambaſſadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of being put in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, which had been raviſhed from the Engliſh during the former

† A. D. 1414.

former reign, and of eſpouſing Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, with a ſuitable dowry. Theſe demands being rejected, Henry aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton; * and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men.

His firſt operations were upon Harfleur; which being preſſed hard, promiſed at a certain day to ſurrender, unleſs relieved before that time. The day arriving, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. From thence he advanced farther into the country. But the climate ſeemed to fight againſt the Engliſh; a contagious dyſentery carrying off above three parts of Henry's army. Meantime the French, though diſagreeing internally, united at the appearance of the common danger. An army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was by this time aſſembled, under the command of count Albret: and was now placed to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return: who now began to repent of his raſh inroad, and endeavoured to retire into Calais. In this retreat, which was at once both painful and dangerous, Henry took every precaution to inſpire his troops with patience and perſeverance; and ſhewed them in his own perſon the brighteſt example of fortitude and reſignation. He was continually harraſſed on his march by flying parties; and whenever he attempted to paſs the river Somme, over which his march lay, he ſaw troops on the other ſide, ready to oppoſe his paſſage. However, he ſeized by ſurprize a paſſage near St. Quintin,

* A. D. 1415.

Quintin, and there ſafely carried over his army.

But after he had paſſed the ſmall river of Tertrois at Blangi, he was ſurpriſed to obſerve from the heights, the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and ſo poſted, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. No ſituation could be more unfavourable than that in which he then found himſelf. His army was waſted with diſeaſe; the ſoldiers' ſpirits worn down with fatigue, deſtitute of proviſions, and diſcouraged by their retreat. Their whole body amounted but to nine thouſand men; and theſe were to ſuſtain the ſhock of an enemy above ten times their number, headed by expert generals, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. This diſparity, as it depreſſed the Engliſh, ſo it raiſed the courage of the French; and ſo confident were they of ſucceſs, that they began to treat for the ranſom of their priſoners. Henry, on the other hand, though ſenſible of his extreme danger, did not omit any circumſtance that could aſſiſt him. He drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected, in that poſition, the attack of the enemy. The conſtable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himſelf, with Edward, duke of York, commanded the other. For a time both armies ſilently gazed at each other, neither being willing to break their ranks by making the onſet; which Henry perceiving, with a chearful countenance cried out, "My friends,

"ſince

"ſince they will not begin, it is ours to ſet "them the example; come on, and the bleſ- "ſed Trinity be our protection." Upon this, the whole army ſet forward with a ſhout, while the French waited their approach with intrepidity. The Engliſh archers, firſt let fly a ſhower of arrows three feet long, which did great execution. The French cavalry advancing to repel theſe, two hundred bowmen, who lay concealed, riſing on a ſudden, let fly among them, and produced ſuch a confuſion, that the archers threw by their arrows, and ruſhing in, fell upon them ſword in hand. The French at firſt repulſed the aſſailants, enfeebled by diſeaſe; but they ſoon made up the defect by their valour; and reſolving to conquer or die, burſt in upon the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were obliged to give way.

In the mean time a body of Engliſh horſe, which had been concealed in a neighbouring wood, ruſhing out, flanked the French infantry, and a general diſorder enſued. The firſt line being routed, the ſecond marched up to interrupt the progreſs of the victory. Henry, alighting from his horſe, preſented himſelf to the enemy with an undaunted countenance; and at the head of his men fought on foot, encouraging ſome, and aſſiſting others. Eighteen French cavaliers, who were reſolved to kill him, or die in the attempt, ruſhing from the ranks together, advanced; and one of them ſtunned the king with a blow of his battle-ax. They then fell upon him in a body; and he was upon the point of ſinking, when David Gam, a valiant Welſhman, aided by two of his

his countrymen, came up to the king's aſſiſtance, and ſoon turned the attention of the aſſailants from the king to themſelves, till at length being overpowered, they fell dead at his feet. Henry had by this time recovered his ſenſes; and freſh troops advancing to his relief, the eighteen French cavaliers were ſlain. The heat of the engagement ſtill increaſing, Henry's courage ſeemed alſo to increaſe, and the moſt dangerous ſituation was where he fought in perſon: his brother, ſtunned by a blow, fell at his feet; and while the king was endeavouring to ſuccour him, he received another blow himſelf, which threw him upon his knees. But he ſoon recovered and leading on his troops with freſh ardour, they ran headlong upon the enemy; and put them into ſuch diſorder, that their leaders could never after bring them to the charge. The duke of Alencon, who commanded the ſecond line, ſeeing it fly, reſolved to retrieve the day, or fall in the attempt. Wherefore running up to Henry, and at the ſame time crying aloud, that he was the duke of Alencon, he diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, that it carried off a part of the king's helmet. Henry returned it, by ſtriking the duke to the ground, and he was ſoon killed by the ſurrounding crowd; all the king's efforts to ſave him proving ineffectual. The French were now overthrown in every part of the field; their number, being crowded into a very narrow ſpace, were incapable of either flying or making any reſiſtance; ſo that they covered the ground with heaps of ſlain. After all appearance

appearance of oppoſition was over, the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners. Henry now publickly returned thanks to heaven, and proclaimed that his ſucceſs ſhould be aſcribed to GOD alone.

This battle was fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility ſlain, or taken priſoners. Among the number of the ſlain, was the conſtable of France, the two brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Alencon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Morle. Among the priſoners, were the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, with ſeveral others of inferior quality. An archbiſhop of Sens alſo periſhed fighting in this battle. The killed amounted to ten thouſand; of whom eight thouſand were gentlemen. The number of priſoners were fourteen thouſand. The Engliſh who were ſlain were about four hundred.

Henry did not interrupt his retreat a moment after the battle of Agincourt; but carried his priſoners to Calais, and from thence to England, * where the parliament, dazzled with the ſplendour of his late victories, granted him new ſupplies. With theſe ſupplies and new levies, he once more landed an army of twenty-eight thouſand men in Normandy, and prepared to ſtrike a deciſive blow for the crown of France. That wretched country now was in a moſt deplorable ſituation. The whole kingdom appeared as one vaſt theatre of crimes murders, injuſtice, and devaſtation. The duke of Orleans was aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Burgundy, in his

* A. D. 1416.

his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. At the ſame time, the duke's ſon, deſirous of revenging his father's death, entered into a ſecret treaty with the Engliſh; and a league was concluded at Arras, between Henry and the young duke of Burgundy. Henry therefore, proceeded in his conqueſt, without much oppoſition from any quarter. Several towns and provinces ſubmitted on his approach; the city of Rouen was beſieged and taken; Pontoiſe and Giſors he ſoon became maſter of. He even threatened Paris by the terror of his power, and obliged the court to move to Troye. ‡ Reſolving to proſecute his conqueſt, he wintered in France, and early in the ſpring, took ſeveral more places. In January following, he had reduced † all Normandy, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been wreſted from king John.

The duke of Burgundy now met Henry in order to ratify that treaty, by which the crown of France was to be transferred to a ſtranger. The imbecillity of Charles made him quite paſſive; and Henry dictated the terms throughout the whole negociation. The principle articles of this treaty were, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine; that king Charles ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king for life; but that Henry ſhould be declared heir to the crown, and ſhould be intruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their reſpective laws and privileges; that Henry ſhould unite his

‡ A. D. 1418. † A. D. 1419.

his arms with thoſe of king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, to ſubdue the dauphin and his partizans. Such was the tenor of a treaty, too repugnant to the real intereſts of both kingdoms to be of long duration.

‡ It was not long after this treaty, that Henry married the princeſs Catherine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and took a formal poſſeſſion of that capital. There he obtained from the eſtates of the kingdom, a ratification of the late compact; and then turned his arms, againſt the Dauphin, who, wandered about a ſtranger in his own patrimony.

† Henry's ſupplies were not provided in ſuch plenty, as to enable him to carry on the war, without returning in perſon to prevail upon his parliament for freſh ſuccours; and, upon his arrival in England, though he found his ſubjects pleaſed with his conqueſts, yet they ſeemed doubtful as to the advantage of them. A treaty, which was likely to transfer the ſeat of empire from England, was not much reliſhed by the parliament. They therefore, upon various pretences, refuſed him a ſupply equal to his exigencies, but he was reſolved on purſuing his ſchemes; and joining to the ſupplies granted at home, the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he was able once more to aſſemble an army of twenty-eight thouſand men, and with theſe he landed at Calais.

In the mean time the Dauphin, a prince of great prudence and activity, omitted no opportunity of repairing his ruined ſituation. He

‡ A. D. 1420. § A. D. 1421.

He prevailed upon the regent of Scotland to ſend him a body of eight thouſand men; and with theſe, and ſome few forces of his own, he attacked the duke of Clarence, who commanded the troops in Henry's abſence, and gained a complete victory.

This was the firſt action which turned the tide of ſucceſs againſt the Engliſh. But it was of ſhort duration, for Henry ſoon after appearing, the Dauphin fled; while many of the places, which held out for the Dauphin in the neighbourhood of Paris, ſurrendered to the conqueror. In this manner, while Henry was every where victorious, he fixed his reſidence at Paris; and while Charles had but a ſmall court, he was attended with a very magnificent one. ‡ On Whitſunday the two kings and their two queens with crowns on their heads, dined together in public; Charles receiving apparent homage, but Henry commanding with abſolute authority.

In the mean time, the Dauphin was chaſed beyond the Loire, and almoſt totally diſpoſſeſſed of all the northern provinces. He was even purſued into the ſouth, by the united arms of the Engliſh and Burgundians, and threatened with total deſtruction

Henry, at a time when both crowns were juſt devolved upon him, was ſeized with a fiſtula; a diſorder, which from the unſkilfulneſs of the phyſicians of the times, ſoon became mortal. Perceiving his end approaching, he ſent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few other noblemen, and to them he delivered, in great tranquility, his laſt will with regard to the govern-

‡ A. D. 1422.

government of his kingdom and family. He recommended his ſon to their protection; and though he regretted the being unable to accompliſh the great object of his ambition in totally ſubduing France, yet he expreſſed great indifference at the approach of death; and expired with the ſame intrepidity with which he had lived, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign.

This prince poſſeſſed many virtues, but his military ſucceſſes gave him credit for more than he poſſeſſed. It is certain, that he had the talent of attaching his friends by affability and of gaining his enemies by addreſs and clemency. He was a lover of juſtice: except in his perſecution of the Lollards; which can neither be defended nor excuſed. Except likewiſe his behaviour towards France, which he attacked without the leaſt provocation. He filled it with widows and orphans, lamentation, miſery, and every ſpecies of diſtreſs. And yet he died in full perſuaſion of having acted according to equity. So he deceived himſelf, as well as others! But there is one that judgeth righteouſly.

Yet his reign was rather ſplendid than profitable; the treaſures of the nation were laviſhed on conqueſts, that even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheleſs he died fortunate, by falling in the midſt of his triumphs, and leaving his ſubjects in the height of his reputation. Charles, who died two months after him, finiſhed a wretched reign, paſt in frenzy and contempt, deſpiſed

by his friends, inſulted by his allies, and leaving the moſt miſerable ſubjects upon earth.

Henry left by his queen, Catherine of France, only one ſon not full nine months old, whoſe misfortunes, during the courſe of a long reign, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father.

The Engliſh triumphs at this time, in France, produced ſcarce any good effects at home; as they grew warlike, they became ſavage, and, panting after foreign poſſeſſions, forgot the arts of cultivating thoſe that lay nearer home. Our language, inſtead of improving, was more neglected than before; Langland and Chaucer had begun to poliſh it, but it now relapſed into its former rudeneſs, and no poet or hiſtorian of note was born in this tempeſtuous period.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

HENRY VI.

HENRY VI. was not quite a year old, when he came to the throne; and his relations began, ſoon after, to diſpute the adminiſtration of government during his minority. The duke of Bedford, * one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of the age, and equally experienced, both in the cabinet and the field, was appointed by parliament protector of England, and firſt counſellor to the king. His brother the duke of Glouceſter, was fixed upon to govern, while he conducted the war in France; and, in order to limit the power of both brothers, a council was named, without whoſe approbation no meaſure of importance could be carried into execution.

As the conduct of military operations was at that time conſidered in a much ſuperior light to civil employments, the duke of Bedford fixed his ſtation in France, to repreſs the attempts of Charles VII. who ſucceeded his father to a nominal throne. Nothing could be more deplorable than the ſituation of that monarch on aſſuming his title to the crown. The Engliſh were maſters of almoſt

* A. D 1422.

all France; and Henry VI. though yet but an infant, || was ſolemnly inveſted with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, ſeconded his claims. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe unfavourable appearances, Charles (who though yet but twenty, united the prudence of age with the affability of youth) found means to bring back his ſubjects to their allegiance.

Indeed his firſt attempts were deſtitute of ſucceſs; wherever he endeavoured to face the enemy he was overthrown. His authority was inſulted even by his own ſervants; advantage after advantage was gained againſt him, and a battle fought near Vernueil, † in which he was totally defeated by the duke of Bedford, ſeemed to render his affairs deſperate. However, from the impoſſibility of the Engliſh keeping the field without new ſupplies, § Bedford was obliged to retire into England, and in the mean time his vigilant enemy began to recover. Dumois, one of his generals, at the head of a thouſand men, ‡ compelled the earl of Warwick to raiſe the ſiege of Montargis; and this advantage, ſlight as it was, ſhewed the French that the Engliſh were not invincible.

* But they ſoon had ſtill greater reaſon to triumph: a new revolution was produced by means apparently the moſt unlikely. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on

|| A. D. 1423. † 1424. § 1425. ‡ 1429.
* 1429.

enerals of his age, extremely artful, inconteſtably brave, equally ſkilful in council and the eld, and inſpired with implacable hatred gainſt the queen. On the other ſide, the ueen herſelf ranged the army in battalia, and ave the neceſſary orders, while the poor king as conſtrained to be a ſpectator of theſe melancholy operations. Both armies met on a lain near Northampton; the queen's forces mounting to about five and twenty thouſand en, the earl of Warwick's to near double at number. While the queen went about om rank to rank, the king remained in his ent. The battle continued for five hours, ith the utmoſt obſtinacy; but at length the umbers of Warwick prevailed. The queen's rmy was overthrown; and ſhe had the misortune to ſee the king once more brought ack priſoner to his capital in triumph.

The cauſe of the Yorkiſts being thus confirmed by the ſtrongeſt argument, a parliament was called to give it their more formal ſanction. The duke of York, whoſe proſpects began to widen as he roſe, now began to claim the crown. But he did not entirely gain his cauſe: it was determined that Henry ſhould poſſeſs the throne for his life; and that the duke of York ſhould be his ſucceſſor.

The queen, now ſeemed deſtitute of every reſource; her armies were routed, her huſband taken priſoner, and the parliament diſclaimed her cauſe; yet, though ſhe had loſt all, ſhe ſtill retained her native intrepidity. Being now a fugitive, diſtant from the capital, oppoſed by a victorious army, and a con-

conſummate general, ſhe ſtill tried every reſource. She flew to Wales; and there endeavoured to animate her old friends, and to acquire new. The nobility of the North, were moved by indignation to find the ſouthern barons diſpoſe of the crown, and ſettle the government. They began to conſider the royal cauſe as unjuſtly oppreſſed; and the queen ſoon found herſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men. || She and her old enemy, the duke of York, once more met upon Wakefield Green, near the caſtle of Sandal; and victory now declared for the queen. The duke of York was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown, in deriſion of his pretended title. His ſon, the earl of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, was taken priſoner and killed in cold blood, by lord Clifford, in revenge for his father's death, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's.

Margaret, marched towards London in order to give the king liberty; but the earl of Warwick, who now put himſelf at the head of the Yorkiſts, commanded an army, in which he led about the captive king to give a ſanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancaſtrians he ſet his forces in order, and gave battle to the queen at Bernard's Heath near St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, lord Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of Yorkiſts withdrew from the combat, and this decided the

|| Dec. 24. A. D. 1460.

he victory in favour of the queen. Above wo thouſand of the Yorkiſts periſhed in the attle, and the perſon of the king again fell nto the hands of his own party.

It only now remained, that the city of London ſhould declare in the queen's favour, ut Warwick had previouſly ſecured it in his nterests; and the citizens refuſed to open heir gates to her ſummons. In the mean ime, young Edward, the eldeſt ſon of the ate duke of York, began to repair the loſſes is party had lately ſuſtained. This prince, n the bloom of youth, remarkable for the eauty of his perſon, his bravery, and po- ular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army; and bliging Margaret to retire to the North, en- ered the city amidſt the acclamations of the eople. * Perceiving his own popularity, he ſuppoſed that now was the time to lay his laim to the crown; and his friend Warwick, aſſembling the citizens in St. John's fields, pronounced an harangue, ſetting forth the itle of Edward, and inveighing againſt the yranny and uſurpation of the houſe of Lan- caſter. He then demanded whether they choſe Henry for their king; to which the people crying, a York! a York! he quickly called an aſſembly of lords and biſhops, at Baynard's caſtle, and theſe ratified their choice. The young duke was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward IV. and then conducted with great ceremony to the palace.

But Margaret was reſolved to ſtrike another blow. Upon her retiring to the North, great numbers

* A. D. 1461.

numbers flocked to her ſtandard, and ſhe wa able in a few days, to aſſemble an army o ſixty thouſand men in Yorkſhire. On the othe ſide, the earl of Warwick conducted youn Edward at the head of forty thouſand men t oppoſe her. Both ſides at length met nea Touton, in the county of York, to decid the fate of empire, and never was England de populated by ſo terrible an engagement. I was a dreadful ſight, to behold an hundre thouſand men of the ſame country engage againſt each other. While the army of Ed ward was advancing to the charge, there hap pened a great fall of ſnow; which driving ful in the faces of the enemy blinded them; an this advantage, ſeconded by an impetuou onſet, decided the victory in their favour Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter; an a bloody ſlaughter enſued, in which near fort thouſand of the Lancaſtrians were ſlain. Ed ward entered York victorious; and takin down the heads of his father and the earl o Saliſbury, put up that of the earl of Devon ſhire in their ſtead.

In the mean time, Margaret hearing th fate of her army, fled with Henry and he ſon to Scotland. † But no calamity wa able to repreſs her perſeverance; though ſ often overcome, yet ſhe was reſolved onc more to enter England with five thouſan men, granted her by the French king. Bu her little fleet was diſperſed by a tempeſ while ſhe herſelf eſcaped, with ſome difficulty into the mouth of the Tweed. Soon after, defeat, which her few forces ſuffered at Hex ham, ſeemed to render her cauſe deſperate an

† A. D. 1463.

and the cruelty which was practiſed upon all her adherents, rendered it ſtill more dangerous.

The loſs of this battle deprived her of every reſource; ſhe and her huſband were obliged to ſeek for ſafety in a ſeparate flight, without attendants, and without even the neceſſaries of life. The unfortunate king, thought he could remain concealed in England; but he was ſoon taken priſoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret flying with her ſon into a foreſt, was ſet upon in the night by robbers, who, deſpoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. But one of thoſe lawleſs men, when he knew her ſtation, reſolved to procure her ſafety at the hazard of his own; and conducted her to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape to her father in Flanders. To the ſame court the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter retired; and they, literally ſpeaking, felt all the miſeries of want. Philip de Comines, ſays he ſaw the duke of Exeter following the duke of Burgundy's equipage bare-footed, and ſerving for his livelihood as a footman. This was a ſtrange ſituation for a lord, who had conducted armies, and was allied to kings and princes.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and ſecurity, while his title was recognized by parliament, and univerſally ſubmitted to by the people. † He, began therefore, to give a looſe to his favourite paſſions; and a ſpirit of gallantry, and cruelty, was ſeen in

† A. D. 1446.

his court. In the ſame palace which one day exhibited a ſpectacle of horror, was ſeen the day following a maſk or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a miſtreſs, and inſpect an execution. In order to turn him from theſe purſuits, the earl of Warwick adviſed him to marry; and went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy, and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilſt the earl was haſtening the negotiation in France, the king married Elizabeth Wideville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick cauſe of offence, he widened the breach, by driving him from the council. Every incident tended to increaſe the jealouſy between the king, and this powerful ſubject; the favour ſhewn the queen's party, and the contempt which was thrown upon the earl. * Warwick, whoſe prudence was equal to his bravery, ſoon made uſe of both to aſſiſt his revenge; he gained the duke of Clarence, brother to the king; and to confirm him in his intereſts, gave him his daughter in marriage. Thus a dangerous combination was formed againſt Edward; and an incident that followed, contributed to fan the flame. The inhabitants about St. Leonard's Hoſpital in Yorkſhire, complained that the duties levied for that inſtitution; which were originally allotted for pious uſes, were now ſecreted by the managers. They ſoon after roſe in a body to oppoſe the eccleſiaſtical ſeverities that were levelled againſt them by the earl of Pembroke. This rebellion was quieted by a pardon from Edward; yet ſome others

* A. D. 1346.

others, that broke out ſhortly after, appeared favourable to Warwick's deſigns. Vengeance ſeemed to be his only motive; and that he purſued with unabating aſſiduity. But Edward was ſoon at the head of a numerous army. Meantime Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, thought beſt to quit the kingdom; and embarking for Calais, ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels, with which they entered one of the ports of France. § Here they entered into an union with Margaret, both ſides forgetting their mutual animoſity. Lewis, the king of France, prepared a fleet to eſcort them; and ſeizing the opportunity, they landed at Dartmouth with a ſmall body of troops, while Edward was in the North, ſuppreſſing an inſurrection, which had lately appeared there. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the ſucceſs of Warwick upon this occaſion. The ſpirit of diſcontent with which many were infected, and the general inſtability of the Engliſh nation, conſpired with his ambition; and in leſs than ſix days ſuch multitudes flocked to his ſtandard, that he ſaw himſelf at the head of threeſcore thouſand men.

It was now Edward's turn to fly the kingdom. He had juſt time to eſcape an attempt made upon him, by the marquis of Montacute; and to embark on board a ſmall fleet, which lay off Lynn in Norfolk. Nor were his dangers leſſened at ſea, where he was chaced by ſome ſhips belonging to the Hanſe-towns, who were then at war with both France and England. But at length he landed ſafely in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy.

§ A. D. 1470.

In the mean time, Warwick advanced to London; and once more Henry was placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great ſolemnity; and Warwick was himſelf received among the people under the title of the King-maker. All the attainders of the Lancaſtrians were reverſed; and every one was reſtored, who had loſt either honours or fortune. All the conſiderable Yorkiſts either fled to the continent, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries.

But Edward's party though repreſſed, was not deſtroyed. Though an exile he had many partizans at home; and after an abſence of nine months, being ſeconded by a ſmall body of forces, granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a deſcent at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire. His army increaſed upon his march toward London, which opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be ſent to his former manſion.

Warwick now found his party daily declining; but what gave the moſt dreadful blow to his hopes was the defection of his ſon-in-law the duke of Clarence, who went over to Edward. Nothing remained to Warwick, but to cut ſhort a ſtate of ſuſpenſe by hazarding a battle. His forces were inferior to thoſe of Edward, but he placed his dependence upon his own generalſhip. With this reſolution, he marched from St. Albans, where he was ſtationed, and advancing towards Barnet, there reſolved to wait for Edward, who was

was not ſlow in marching down to oppoſe him. Warwick and Edward were at that time conſidered as the two moſt renowned generals of the age; and now was to be ſtruck the deciſive blow that was to fix Edward on the throne or to overthrow his pretenſions for ever.

* The battle began early in the morning, and laſted till noon; for never did two armies fight with greater obſtinacy, not honour, but life, depending on the iſſue of the conteſt. The example of Warwick inſpired his troops with more than common reſolution, and victory for a while ſeemed to declare in his favour. But a part of his army miſtaking a body of their own forces for that of the enemy, fell furiouſly upon them; and this error turned the fortune of the day. Warwick did all that experience, valour, or conduct could ſuggeſt, to retrieve the miſtake; but it was now too late; wherefore, finding all hopes gone, he reſolved to ſell the conquerors a dear-bought victory. He had, contrary to his uſual practice, engaged that day on foot; and leading a choſen body of troops into the thickeſt of the ſlaughter, he there fell, in the midſt of his enemies, covered over with wounds. His brother underwent the ſame fate; and ten thouſand of his adherents were ſlain, Edward having ordered that no quarter ſhould be given.

Margaret was at that time returning from France with her ſon, the prince of Wales, where ſhe had been negotiating for freſh ſupplies. She had ſcarce time to refreſh herſelf from the fatigues of her voyage, when ſhe

* April 14, A. D. 1471.

received the fatal news. Her grief now, for the firſt time, found way in a torrent of tears, and yielding to her fate, ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beauleau in Hampſhire.

She had not been long there, before ſhe found ſome few friends ſtill willing to aſſiſt her fallen fortunes. Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, the lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, offered to aſſiſt her to the laſt. A dawn of hope was ſufficient to revive the courage of this magnanimous woman; and the recollection of her former misfortunes gave way to the flattering proſpect of another trial. She had now fought battles in almoſt every province in England; Tewkſbury-Park was the ſcene that terminated her attempts. The duke of Somerſet headed her army; a man who had ſhared her dangers, and had ever been ſteady in her cauſe. When Edward attacked him in his intrenchments, he repulſed him with ſuch vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, ſuppoſing them routed, purſued, and ordered lord Wenlock to ſupport his charge. But this lord diſobeyed his orders; and Somerſet's forces were ſoon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigence, the duke, finding that all was over, and beholding Wenlock remaining in the very place where he had firſt drawn up his men, with his heavy battle-ax in both hands, he ran upon the coward, and with one blow daſhed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken priſoners, and brought into the preſence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the

the conqueror with undaunted majeſty; and being aſked, in an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade England, the young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, replied, "I have entered "the dominions of my father, to revenge "his injuries, and redreſs my own." The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, ſtruck him on the mouth with his gauntlet; and this ſerved as a ſignal for others, who like wild beaſts, ruſhing on the unarmed youth, ſtabbed him to the heart with their daggers. Henry himſelf did not long ſurvive: but how he died, whether thro' grief, or by violence, is uncertain: it is moſt probable, Edward gave orders for murdering him privately. Of all thoſe that were taken, none were ſuffered to ſurvive but Margaret. It was expected that ſhe would be ranſomed by the king of France; and in this they were not deceived, as that monarch paid the king of England fifty thouſand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having ſuſtained the cauſe of her huſband in twelve battles, after having ſurvived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after, in privacy in France, with few claims to our pity, except her courage and her diſtreſſes.

Henry, tho' not well qualified for a king, was unqueſtionably a good man. He was chaſte, temperate, ſincerely religious, and abhorred both injuſtice and cruelty. And theſe virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed prince, had they been attended with the ſpirit of a ſovereign.

CHAP. IV.

EDWARD IV.

OF all people the Engliſh are the moſt compaſſionate; and a throne raiſed upon cruelty never wanted enemies among them. Nothing could be more ill-judged than any attempts to govern ſuch a people by the hands of the executioner; yet the leaders of each faction ſeemed inſenſible of this truth. Edward being now freed from great enemies, turned to the puniſhment of thoſe of leſſer note; ſo that the gibbets were hung with his adverſaries, and their eſtates confiſcated to his uſe.

But while he was thus rendering himſelf terrible on the one hand, he was immerſed in abandoned pleaſures on the other. Nature was not unfavourable to him; he was allowed to be the moſt beautiful man of his time. His courtiers were willing to encourage thoſe debaucheries in which they had a ſhare; and the clergy, as they themſelves practiſed every kind of lewdneſs, were ready to lend abſolution to all his failings. The truth is, enormous vices were ſo common, that adultery was held but a ſlight offence.

Among

Among the number of his miſtreſſes was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquiſite beauty and good ſenſe, but who had not virtue enough to reſiſt the temptations of a beautiful man, and a monarch.

* England now enjoying a calm, Edward thought the beſt way to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, would be to aſſert his right to his dominions in France. To proſecute this, he ſent to his ally, the duke of Burgundy, a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and ſoon after, paſſed over himſelf at the head of a numerous army. Lewis the eleventh, then king of France, was alarmed at this formidable invaſion, which he ſtrove to obviate by treaty. This ſucceeded; the two kings had an interview at the bridge of Perpignan; and, upon the promiſe of a ſtipulated ſum, Edward agreed to lead his forces back to England. This monarch wanted to return home to his miſtreſſes to ſpend upon them the money he was to receive from France; and the French monarch hoped ſoon to be in a poſture to refuſe theſe ſums which he had only made a promiſe to pay.

Upon the concluſion of this expedition, Edward appeared to be actuated by private paſſions unworthy a ſovereign. Among the detail of private wrongs, which are too minute for hiſtory, an act of tyranny of which he was guilty in his own family deſerves the deteſtation of poſterity. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friend-

* A. D. 1474.

ſhip. A pretext was therefore ſought to ruin him; and his haſty temper ſoon gave the occaſion. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, an intimate of the duke's, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet vexed at the loſs, broke into a paſſion, and wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the king to it. For this, Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend exclaimed againſt the iniquity of the ſentence. The king, highly offended with this liberty, or uſing that as a pretext againſt him, had him arraigned before the houſe of peers, and appeared in perſon as his accuſer. In thoſe times every crime alledged by the prevailing party was fatal; the duke was found guilty; and being granted a choice of the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a but of malmſey in the tower; a whimſical choice, and implying that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor.

The reſt of this monarch's life was ſpent in riot and debauchery; in uſeleſs treaties with France, in which he was ever deceived, and in empty threats againſt the monarch who had deceived him. His parliament, mere miniſters of his will, conſented to a war with France, at a time when his alliances upon the continent were ſo broken, that it was impoſſible for it to ſucceed.

While

While Edward was employed in making preparations for it, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he expired in the forty-ſecond year of his age, (and counting from his firſt uſurpation,) in the twenty-third of his reign. The character of this prince is eaſily ſummed up. His beſt qualities were courage and beauty; his bad, a combination of all vices. Beſide five daughters, this king left two ſons, Edward, prince of Wales his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth.

CHAP. V.

EDWARD V.

*UPON the death of Edward, the kingdom was divided into two new factions. The queen's family, who during the laſt reign had grown into power, was become obnoxious to the old nobility, who would not act in ſubordination to perſons whom they conſidered as inferiors. The king himſelf, during his lifetime, had been able to over-awe theſe animoſities; and on his death-bed endeavoured to guard againſt their encreaſe. He expreſſed a

* A. D. 1483.

deſire, that his brother the duke of Glouceſter ſhould be intruſted with the regency, and recommended peace and unanimity during the minority of his ſon. But the king was no ſooner dead, than the parties broke out with all their former reſentment. The queen immediately ſent to her brother Rivers, to raiſe a body of troops. The duke of Buckingham and Lord Haſtings acquainted Richard with this; and as the protectorſhip of the realm of right belonged to him during the king's minority, they exhorted him to claim his privilege, offering to provide a thouſand men well armed, who ſhould be ready to march at his command.

Being ſure of the aſſiſtance of theſe noblemen, he reſolved to take the king out of the cuſtody of the earl of Rivers, and † having procured that nobleman to be arreſted, he met young Edward in perſon, and offered to conduct him up to London, with the moſt profound demonſtrations of reſpect. Immediately after, he convoked a great council of the nobility, who unanimouſly declared him protector of the king and kingdom.

His next ſtep was to get the charge of the king's brother, who, with the queen, his mother, had taken ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey. The queen was hardly perſuaded to deliver up her child; but at laſt ſhe was induced to comply. In a few days after, they were both lodged in the Tower, then a royal palace;

† I doubt many of theſe facts. And, every thing that follows againſt the duke of Glouceſter, we muſt remember, is Henry the Seventh's account.

palace; (though one part of it was alſo a priſon. It was the uſual place from whence the proceſſion at a coronation began*.

Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcloſe his fears of the protector's having ill deſigns; and communicated his ſuſpicions to lord Haſtings, who long had been firmly attached to the king's family. Haſtings would at firſt give the ſurmiſe no credit; and probably his wiſhes that ſuch a project might not be true, influenced his judgment, and confirmed his ſecurity.

In the mean time, orders had been diſpatched to execute the lords Rivers, Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been confined in Pomfret caſtle. On the very day on which they were beheaded, the protector ſummoned a council in the Tower, whither lord Haſtings amongſt others, repaired. The duke of Glouceſter came thither at nine o' clock in the morning with a moſt chearful countenance, ſaluting the members with the utmoſt affability and demonſtrations of unuſual good humour. He then left the council, as if called away by other buſineſs; but deſired that his abſence might not interrupt the debates†. In about an hour he returned, quite altered in look, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and ſhewing by a frequent change of countenance, the ſigns of ſome inward perturbation. A ſilence enſued for ſome time; and the lords looked upon each other. At length he broke out:

* Their being placed here therefore, was no manner of proof of any ill deſign againſt them.

† I doubt this whole account. It is no way probable.

out: "My lords, what puniſhment do they "deſerve, who have conſpired againſt my "life?" This queſtion redoubled the aſtoniſhment of the aſſembly; lord Haſtings at length made anſwer, that whoever did ſo, deſerved to be puniſhed as a traitor. "Theſe "traitors, cried the protector, are the ſor-"cereſs, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, "his miſtreſs, with others, their aſſociates." The amazement of the council ſeemed to increaſe; and lord Haſtings again ſaid: "If "they have committed ſuch a crime, they "deſerve puniſhment." "If! cried the "protector, with a loud voice, doſt thou "anſwer me with Ifs? I tell thee that they "have conſpired my death; and that thou, "traitor, art an accomplice in their crime." He then ſtruck the table twice with his hand; and the room was inſtantly filled with armed men. "I arreſt thee, continues he, turning "to Haſtings, for high treaſon;" and at the ſame time gave him in charge to the ſoldiers. He was obliged to make a ſhort confeſſion to the next prieſt that was at hand; and hurried out to the Little Green before the Tower-chapel, and there beheaded.

The protector having thus got rid of thoſe he moſt feared, fell upon Jane Shore, the late king's miſtreſs. † This unfortunate woman was an enemy too humble to excite his jealouſy: yet as he had accuſed her of witchcraft, of which all the world ſaw ſhe was innocent, he thought proper to make her an example, for thoſe faults of which ſhe was really

† This tale likewiſe is quite improbable.

really guilty. Jane Shore was the moſt guiltleſs miſtreſs in his abandoned court. She was ever known to intercede for the diſtreſſed and was uſually applied to as mediator for mercy. She was charitable, generous, and of a moſt pleaſing converſation; her wit being ſaid to be as irreſiſtible as her beauty. As ſhe was blameleſs in other reſpects, the protector ordered her to be ſued for incontinency. The charge againſt her was too notorious to be denied; ſhe pleaded guilty, and was condemned to walk bare-foot through the city, and to do penance in St. Paul's church in a white ſheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thouſands of ſpectators. She lived above forty years after this ſentence, reduced to extreme wretchedneſs; and Sir Thomas More, aſſures us, that he ſaw her gathering herbs in a field near the city for her nightly repaſt; an extraordinary example of the ingratitude of courts, and the reverſes of fortune.

The ‡ protector now thought it high time to aſpire to the throne more openly. He had quite gained the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, who uſed all his arts to infuſe into the people an opinion of the baſtardy of the late king, and alſo that of his children. Doctor Shaw, a popular preacher, harangued the people from St. Paul's Croſs to the ſame purpoſe; where, after having diſplayed the incontinence of the queen, and inſiſted on the illegality of the young king's title;

‡ Remember, this alſo is Henry VII's ſtory.

title, he expatiated on the virtues of the protector. "It is the protector, cried he, "who carries in his face the image of virtue, "and the marks of a true deſcent. He alone "can reſtore the loſt glory and honour of the "nation." It was hoped, upon this occaſion, that ſome of the populace would have cried out, Long live king Richard! but the audience remaining ſilent, the duke of Buckingham undertook to perſuade them, in his turn. His ſpeech was copious upon the calamities of the laſt reign, and the baſtardy of the preſent race; he ſaw only one method of ſhielding off the miſeries that threatened the ſtate, which was, to elect the protector; but he ſeemed apprehenſive that he would never be prevailed on to accept of a crown, accompanied with ſuch difficulty and danger. He next aſked his auditors, whether they would have the protector for their king? But was mortified to find that a total ſilence enſued. But ſome of Buckingham's ſervants, raiſing a feeble cry of "God ſave king Richard! the mob at the door, throwing up their caps, repeated, A Richard! a Richard! *

The duke, the next day, at the head of the mayor and aldermen, went to wait upon the protector, at Baynard's caſtle, with offers of the crown. When Richard was told that a great multitude was waiting at the door, he appeared in a gallery between two biſhops, and ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſuch a concourſe of people. But when he was informed that their buſineſs

* An idle, ſenſeleſs, improbable tale! But ſuch as the deſperate cauſe of king Henry required.

uſineſs was to offer him the crown, he declared againſt accepting it; alledging his ove for the late king, his brother, his affection for the children under his care, and is own inſufficiency. Buckingham plainly old him, "That the people were bent on making him king; that they had now proceeded too far to recede; and therefore, in caſe of his refuſal, were determined to offer the crown where it would meet a more ready acceptance." "I perceive, replied the protector, that the kingdom is reſolved to load me with preferments, unequal to my abilities or my choice; yet ſince it is my duty to obey the dictates of a free people, I will, though reluctantly, accept their petition. I therefore, from this moment, enter upon the government of England and France, with a reſolution to defend the one, and ſubdue the other." The rowd being thus diſmiſſed, each man returnd home, pondering upon the proceedings of he day; and making ſuch remarks as paſion, intereſt or party might ſuggeſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

RICHARD III.

* AS ſoon as Richard was ſeated upon the throne‡, he ſent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death; but this brave man, whoſe name was Brackenbury, refuſed to be made the inſtrument of a tyrant's will. A fit inſtrument, however, was not long wanting; Sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to reſign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel chuſing three aſſociates, Slater, Deighton, and Foreſt, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged; and ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bid them execute their commiſſion, while he himſelf ſtaid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a ſound ſleep: after ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel; who ordered them

* A. D. 1483.

‡ This undoubtedly is an abſolute falſhood: for both of them were alive long after his death.

them to be buried at the ſtair-foot, deep in the ground, under an heap of ſtones. Theſe facts appeared in the ſucceeding reign, being confeſſed by the perpetrators‡; who, however eſcaped puniſhment.

Richard cauſed himſelf to be crowned firſt at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to ſecure by great indulgencies; and his friends, by beſtowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were inſtrumental in placing him on the throne.

But while he thus endeavoured to eſtabliſh his power, he found it threatened on a quarter where he leaſt expected. The duke of Buckingham, though he had received the greateſt rewards for his ſervices, yet continued to wiſh for more. He had already ſeveral poſts and governments conferred upon him; but making a demand of the confiſcated lands in Hereford, to which his family had an ancient claim, Richard, either reluctantly complied with his requeſt, or but partially indulged it. A coolneſs enſued; and no ſooner had Buckingham ſuppoſed himſelf injured, than he reſolved to dethrone Richard. At firſt he was in doubt, whether he ſhould put up for the crown himſelf, or ſet up another; but the latter reſolution prevailing, he determined to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, at that time an exile in Brittany.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was at that time detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the duke of Brittany. He was one of thoſe, who

‡ That is, they affirmed, what king Henry invented: no wonder, that they "eſcaped puniſhment."

who had the good fortune to escape the numerous massacres of the preceding reigns; but as he was a descendant of John of Ghent, by the female line, he was for that reason obnoxious to those in power. He had long lived in exile; and was at one time delivered up to the ambassadors of Edward, who were preparing to carry him over to England, when the prince, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambassadors just as they were leading him on ship-board. This was the youth on whom the duke of Buckingham cast his eye, and a negociation was begun between them. Henry's hereditary right to the throne was doubtful; but to improve his title, a marriage was projected between him and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late king, and the queen dowager heartily acceded to the measure.

Richard, mean time, began to suspect Buckingham's fidelity; and the informations which he daily received, left him no room to doubt. But he soon had the plainest proofs; intelligence arriving that this nobleman was at the head of a large body of men in arms, and marching towards the western shore. Richard, whose courage no dangers could allay, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, and prepared to meet the insurgents with his usual expedition. But it needed not; for as Buckingham was advancing by hasty marches towards Glocester, where he designed to cross the Severn, just at that time the river was swelled to such a degree, that

the

country on both ſides was deluged. This ndation continued for ten days; during ich Buckingham's army, compoſed of elchmen, could neither paſs the river, nor d ſubſiſtence on their own ſide; they were, refore, obliged to diſperſe, and return me, notwithſtanding all the duke's efforts. this helpleſs ſituation, the duke, after a rt deliberation, took refuge at the houſe one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, who had received repeated obligations n his family. But the wicked ſeldom , as they ſeldom exert, friendſhip. Ban- r, unable to reſiſt the temptation of a large ard, a thouſand pounds, that was ſet up- the duke's head, went and betrayed him the ſheriff of Shropſhire; who ſurround- the houſe with armed men, ſeized the e, in the habit of a peaſant, and con- ed him to Saliſbury; where he was in- tly tried, condemned and executed, ac- ing to the ſummary method practiſed in e ages.

the mean time the duke of Richmond ed in England; but finding his hopes rated by the failure of Buckingham, he ly ſet ſail again, and returned to Brittany. s every occurrence ſeemed to promiſe ard a long poſſeſſion of the crown; how- , the authority of parliament was ſtill ting to give a ſanction to his proceedings; that was eaſily procured. * An act was d, confirming the illegitimacy of Ed- 's children; an act of attainder alſo was rmed againſt Henry, earl of Richmond; and

* A. D. 1484.

and all Richard's wiſhes ſeemed to be the ai
of their deliberations.

But among thoſe who ſtill excited his jea
louſy, was the lord Stanley, who was marrie
to the widow of Edward; and to keep hi
ſtedfaſt in obedience, he took his ſon as a
hoſtage. He now alſo wanted to get rid o
his preſent queen, Anne, to make room for
match with his niece, the princeſs Elizabeth*
by whoſe alliance he hoped to cover the inju
tice of his claims. This lady, whom he de
ſired to get rid of, had been eſpouſed (no
married) to the young prince of Wales. Sh
died ſoon after, of a conſumptive diſorder.

|| Meantime he received information, th
the earl of Richmond was once more maki
preparations to land in England. Richar
who knew not in what quarter he might ex
pect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottin
ham, in the center of the kingdom, and h
given commiſſions to ſeveral of his friend
to oppoſe the enemy wherever he ſhould lan
The account received of Richmond's prepar
tions was not ungrounded; he ſet out fro
Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of
bout two thouſand perſons; and, after a voy
age of ſix days, arrived at Milford-Have
in Wales, where he landed without oppoſi
tion. Sir Rice-ap-Thomas, and Sir Walt
Herbert, who were intruſted to oppoſe him
Wales, were both in his intereſts; the o

|| A. D. 1485.

* He did not deſire this alliance: but Elizabe
did, as appears from letters now in the Arund
library.

mediately deſerted to him, and the other
de but a feeble oppoſition. Upon news of
s deſcent, Richard inſtantly reſolved to
et him, and decide their pretenſions by a
ttle. Richmond, on the other hand, being
nforced by Sir Thomas Bourchier, Sir
alter Hungerford, and others, to the num-
r of about ſix thouſand, boldly advanced
th the ſame intention; and in a few days,
th armies drew near Boſworth-field, to de-
mine a conteſt that had now for more than
ty years filled the kingdom with civil com-
otions.

The army of Richard was above double
t of Henry; but the confidence of the lat-
lay in the ſecret aſſurances of lord Stan-
, who with a body of ſeven thouſand men,
vered near the field of battle, and decli-
d engaging on either ſide.

Richard perceiving his enemy advance,
w up his army, of about thirteen thouſand
n, in order of battle; he gave the com-
nd of the van-guard to the duke of Nor-
k, while he led the main body himſelf,
h the crown on his head, deſigning by this
ner to inſpire the enemy with awe, or to
der himſelf conſpicuous to his own army.
e van of Richmond's army was commanded
John, earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Tal-
led the right wing, Sir John Savage the
; while the earl himſelf, accompanied by
uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed him-
f in the main body. Lord Stanley in the
an time, poſted himſelf on one flank,
ween the two armies, while his brother

took

took his ſtation on the other, which was oppoſite. Richard ſeeing him in this ſituation, immediately ſent him orders to unite himſelf to the main body, which the other refuſing, he gave inſtant orders for beheading lord Stanley's ſon. He was perſuaded, however, to poſtpone the execution; and directed the trumpets to ſound to battle. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a ſhower of arrows, and ſoon the adverſe fronts were ſeen cloſing. This was what lord Stanley had for ſome time expected, who immediately joined the line of Richmond, and thus turned the fortune of the day; inſpiring unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers, and throwing Richard's into confuſion. The intrepid king perceiving the danger of his ſituation, ſpurred up his horſe into the thickeſt of the fight, while Richmond quitted his ſtation behind, to encourage his troops by his preſence in the front. Richard perceiving him, was deſirous of ending all by one blow; and with irreſiſtible fury flew through thouſands to attack him. He ſlew ſir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard bearer, who attempted to ſtop his career. Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place, was thrown by him to the ground; but they were then ſeparated by the interpoſing crowd. Richard, thus diſappointed, went, by his preſence, to inſpire his troops at another quarter; but at length perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, and finding that all was gone, he ruſhed with a loud ſhout into the midſt of the enemy, and ſold his life as dear as he could.

could. After the battle, his body was found ſtripped among an heap of ſlain, covered over with wounds. In this manner it was thrown acroſs an horſe, the head hanging down on one ſide, and the legs on the other, and thus carried to Leiceſter. It lay there two days expoſed to public view, and then was privately buried in the abbey church.

His greateſt enemies acknowledge, that after his acceſſion to the throne, "his adminiſtration was conducted with the ſtricteſt juſtice; that he enacted the moſt ſalutary laws, and eſtabliſhed the wiſeſt regulations; and that if his reign had been protracted he might have proved an excellent king."

Richard's crown being found by one of Henry's ſoldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed upon the head of the conqueror, while the whole army, with one voice cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus ended the reign of Richard; and by his death the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in poſſeſſion of the crown during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years, became extinct. Thus ended alſo the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by which moſt of the ancient families of the kingdom were extinguiſhed, and more than an hundred thouſand men loſt their lives, either by the ſword or the executioner.

Theſe diſſenſions had, for ſome time, reduced the kingdom to a ſtate of ſavage barbarity. Laws, arts, and commerce, which had before emitted ſome feeble gleams, were entirely neglected, for the practice of arms:

and to be a conqueror was ſufficient in the eyes of the brutal people, to ſtand for every other virtue. The Engliſh had as yet, but little idea of legal ſubordination; nor could they give any applauſe to thoſe who attempted to cultivate the arts of peace, the whole of their ſtudy being turned for war. The ferocity of the people to each other was incredible. However, the women, whatever part they took in the diſturbances of the government, were exempted from capital puniſhments; nor were they ever put to death, except when convicted of witchcraft or poiſoning. As for the clergy, they were entirely diſtinct from the laity, both in cuſtoms, laws and learning. They were governed by the code of civil law, drawn up in the times of Juſtinian; while the laity were held by the common-law, which had been traditional from times immemorial. The clergy, however we may be told to the contrary, underſtood and wrote Latin fluently; while the laity on the other hand, underſtood nothing of Latin, but applied themſelves wholly to the French language, when they aſpired at the character of a polite education. In ſhort, as there was no knowledge of government among the individuals, but what totally reſulted from power, the ſtate was like a feveriſh conſtitution, ever ſubject to ferment and diſorder. France, indeed, had ſerved for ſome time as a drain for the peccant humours; but when that was no longer open; the diſorders of the conſtitution ſeemed daily to encreaſe, and vented themſelves at laſt in all the horrors of a long continued civil war.

Whoever

Whoever deſires to know the real character of King Richard, ſhould read, the "Hiſtoric Doubts," written by Mr. Walpole. An extract from them is here ſubjoined.

CHAP. VII.

I Doubt, ſays a late writer, whether the whole ſtream of our hiſtorians, miſled by their originals, have not falſified this reign in our annals in the groſſeſt manner. The moderns are only guilty of taking on truſt what they ought to have examined more ſcrupulouſly, as the authors whom they copied were all ranked on one ſide in a flagrant ſeaſon of party. But no excuſe can be made for the original authors, who, I doubt, have violated all rules of truth.

The confuſions which attended the civil war between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, threw an obſcurity over that part of our annals, which it is almoſt impoſſible to diſpel. We have ſcarce any authentic monuments of the reign of Edward the Fourth; and ought to read his hiſtory with much diſtruſt, from the boundleſs partiality of the ſucceeding writers to the oppoſite cauſe. That diffidence ſhould increaſe when we proceed to the reign of his brother.

It occurred to me ſome years ago, that the picture of Richard the Third, as drawn by hiſtorians, was a character formed by prejudice and invention. I did not take Shakeſpeare's tragedy for a genuine repreſentation, but for a tragedy of imagination. Many of the crimes imputed to Richard ſeemed improbable; and, what was ſtronger, contrary to his intereſt. A few incidental circumſtances corroborated my opinion; an original inſtrument was pointed out to me laſt winter, which gave riſe to the following ſheets; and as it was eaſy to perceive, under all the glare of encomiums which hiſtorians have heaped on the wiſdom of Henry the Seventh, that he was a mean and unfeeling tyrant. I ſuſpected that they had blackened his rival, that Henry might appear in a kind of amiable light. The more I examined, the more I was confirmed in my opinion:-----and with regard to Henry, one conſequence I could not help drawing; that we have either no authentic memorials of Richard's crimes, or at moſt, no account of them but from Lancaſtrian hiſtorians; whereas the vices and injuſtice of Henry are avowed by the concurrent teſtimony of his panegyriſts. Suſpicions and calumny were faſtened on Richard as ſo many aſſaſſinations. The murders committed by Henry were indeed executions----and executions paſs for prudence with prudent hiſtorians; for when a ſucceſsful king is chief juſtice, hiſtorians become a voluntary jury.

I am not going to write a vindication of Richard; all I mean to ſhew, is, that though he may have been as bad as we are told he was, we have no reaſon to believe ſo.

I will ſtate the liſt of the crimes charged on Richard; with the authorities on which he was accuſed; I will give a faithful account of the hiſtorians by whom he was accuſed; and will then examine the circumſtances of each crime and each evidence; and laſtly, ſhow that ſome of the crimes were contrary to Richard's intereſt; almoſt all inconſiſtent with probability or with dates; and ſome of them involved in material contradictions.

Suppoſed crimes of Richard the Third.

1ſt. His murder of Edward prince of Wales.
2d. His murder of Henry the Sixth.
3d. The murder of his brother George duke of Clarence.
4th. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan.
5th. The execution of Lord Haſtings.
6th. The murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother.
7th. The murder of his own queen.

To which may be added, as they are thrown into the liſt to blacken him, his intended match with his own niece Elizabeth, the penance of Jane Shore, and his own perſonal deformities.

I. Of the murder of Edward prince of Wales, ſon of Henry the Sixth.

Edward the Fourth behaved with all the arts of a politician and the cruelty of a conqueror. Indeed on neither ſide do there ſeem to have been any ſcruples: Edward and Margaret entered into any engagements, took any oaths, violated them, and indulged their revenge, as often as they were depreſſed or victorious. After the battle of Tewkſbury, in which Margaret and her ſon were made priſoners, young Edward was brought to the preſence of Edward the Fourth; "but after the king," ſays Fabian, the oldeſt hiſtorian of thoſe times, "had queſtioned with the ſaid "Sir Edwarde, and he had anſwered hym "contrary his pleaſure, he ſtrake him with "his gauntlet upon the face; after which "ſtroke, he was by the kynges ſervants in-"continently ſlaine." The chronicle of Croyland of the ſame date ſays, the prince was ſlain "ultricibus quorundam manibus;" but names nobody.

Hall ſays, "The kyng ſtroke him with "his gauntlet, whome incontinent, they that "ſtode about, which were George duke of "Clarence, Richard duke of Glouceſter, "Thomas, marques Dorſet, and William "lord Haſtynges, ſodainly murthered and "pitiouſly manguelled." Thus much had the ſtory gained from the time of Fabian to that of Hall.

Hollingſhed repeats theſe very words, conſequently is a tranſcriber and no new authority.

John

John Stowe reverts to Fabian's account, and affirms no more, than that the king ſmote the young prince on the face, and after, his ſervants ſlew him.

A cotemporary names the king's *ſervants* as perpetrators of the murder: Is not that more probable than that the king's own brothers ſhould have dipped their hands in ſo foul an aſſaſſination? Richard, in particular, is allowed on all hands to have been a brave and martial prince: he had great ſhare in the victory at Tewkſbury: ſome years afterwards, he commanded his brother's troops in Scotland, and made himſelf maſter of Edinborough. Such men may be carried by ambition to command the execution of thoſe who ſtand in their way; but are not likely to lend their hand, in cold blood, to a baſe, and, to themſelves, uſeleſs aſſaſſination. How did it import Richard in what manner the young prince was put to death? If he had ſo early planned the ambitious deſigns aſcribed to him, he might have truſted to his brother Edward, ſo much more immediately concerned, that the young prince would not be ſpared. If thoſe views did not, take place in his heart till long afterwards, what intereſt had Richard to murder an unhappy young prince? This crime therefore was ſo unneceſſary, and is ſo far from being eſtabliſhed by any authority, that he deſerves to be entirely acquitted of it.

II. The murder of Henry the Sixth.

This charge, no better ſupported than the preceding, is ſtill more improbable. "Of

" the death of this prince, Henry the Sixth," " ſays Fabian, " divers tales were told. But " the moſt common fame went, that he was " ſtricken with a dagger by the hands of the " duke of Glouceſter."

Hall ſays, " Poor kyng Henry the Sixte, " a little before deprived of hys realme and " imperial croune, was now in the Tower " of London ſpoyled of his life and all " worldly felicite by Richard duke of Glou- " ceſter (as the conſtant fame ranne) which, " to thintent that kyng Edward his brother " ſhould be clere out of al ſecret ſuſpicion " of ſudden invaſion, murthered the ſaid " kyng with a dagger." Whatever Richard was, it ſeems he was a moſt kind-hearted brother, and ſcrupled not on any occaſion to be the Jack Ketch of the times. We ſhall ſee him ſoon (if the evidence were to be believed) perform the ſame friendly office for Edward, on their brother Clarence. And we muſt admire that he, whoſe dagger was ſo fleſhed in murder for the ſervice of another, ſhould be ſo put to it to find the means of making away with his nephews, whoſe deaths were conſiderably more eſſential to him. But can this accuſation be allowed gravely? If Richard aſpired to the crown, whoſe whole conduct during Edward's reign was a ſcene, as we are told, of plauſibility and decorum, would he officiouſly and unneceſſarily have taken on himſelf the odium of ſlaying a ſaint-like monarch, adored by the people? Was it his intereſt to ſave Edward's character at the expence of his own? Did Henry ſtand in *his* way, depoſed, impriſoned, and now *childleſs*?

The

The blind and indiſcriminate zeal with which every crime committed in that bloody age was placed to Richard's account, makes it greatly probable, that intereſt of party had more hand than truth in drawing his picture.

III. The murder of his brother Clarence.

In the examination of this article, I ſhall ſet aſide our hiſtorians (whoſe goſſiping narratives, as we have ſeen, deſerve little regard) becauſe we have better authority; and this is, the attainder of the duke of Clarence, as it is ſet forth in the Parliamentary Hiſtory. The crimes of Clarence are there particularly enumerated, and even his dealing with conjurers, a charge however abſurd, yet often made uſe of in that age. Eleanor Cobham, wife of Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, had been condemned on a parallel accuſation. Whether Clarence was guilty we cannot eaſily tell; for in thoſe times neither the public nor the priſoner uſually knew the evidence on which ſentence was paſſed. Nor was much information given to or aſked by parliament itſelf, previous to bills of attainder. The duke of Clarence appears to have been at once a weak, volatile, injudicious, and ambitious man. He had abandoned his brother Edward, had eſpouſed the daughter of Warwick, the great enemy of their houſe, and had even been declared ſucceſſor to Henry the Sixth and his ſon prince Edward. Conduct ſo abſurd muſt have left laſting impreſſions on Edward's mind, not to be effaced by Clarence's ſubſequent treachery to Henry and Warwick. Hall, Hollingſhed, and Stowe, ſay not a word of

Richard being the perſon who put the ſentence in execution; but, on the contrary, they all ſay he openly reſiſted the murder of Clarence: all too record another circumſtance, which is perfectly ridiculous, that Clarence was drowned in a butt of malmſey. Whoever can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard helped him into it, and kept him down till he was ſuffocated. But the ſtrong evidence on which Richard muſt be acquitted, even of having contributed to his death, was the teſtimony of Edward himſelf. Being ſome time afterward ſollicited to pardon a notorious criminal, the king's conſcience broke forth; "Unhappy brother!" cried he, "for whom no "man would interceed---yet ye all can be "interceſſors for a villain!" If Richard had been inſtigator or executioner, it is not likely that the king would have aſſumed the whole crime to himſelf, without beſtowing a ſhare on his brother Glouceſter. Is it poſſible to renew the charge, and not recollect this acquittal!

The three preceding accuſations are quite improbable. What follows is more obſcure; and it is on the enſuing tranſactions that we have no authority on which to form poſitive concluſions. I ſpeak particularly of the deaths of Edward the Fifth and his brother. It is very doubtful whether they were murdered or not: and if they were, it is impoſſible to believe the account as fabricated and divulged by Henry the Seventh, on whoſe teſtimony the murder muſt reſt at laſt; for they, who ſpeak moſt poſitively, revert to the ſtory which

which he was pleaſed to publiſh eleven years after their ſuppoſed deaths, and which is ſo abſurd, ſo incoherent, and ſo repugnant to dates and other facts, that as it is no longer neceſſary to pay court to his Majeſty, we cannot but treat his aſſertions as an impudent fiction.

And here it will be important to examine thoſe hiſtorians on whoſe relation the ſtory firſt depends. Previous to this I muſt aſcertain one or two dates, for they are ſtubborn evidence and cannot be rejected.

Edward the Fourth died April 9th 1483.

Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was then thirteen years of age.

Richard, duke of York, his ſecond ſon, was about nine.

We have but two cotemporary hiſtorians, the author of the Chronicle of Croyland, and John Fabian. The firſt, who wrote in his convent, and only mentioned incidentally affairs of ſtate, is very conciſe. When his aſſertions are poſitive, and not merely flying reports, he ought to be admitted as evidence, ſince we have no better. And yet a monk who buſies himſelf in recording the inſignificant events of his own monaſtery, was not likely to know the moſt myſterious ſecrets of ſtate; I mean, as he was not employed in thoſe iniquitous tranſactions---if he had been, we might expect ſtill leſs truth from him.

John Fabian was a merchant, and had been ſheriff of London, and died in 1512; he conſequently lived on the ſpot at that very inter-

reſting period. Yet no ſheriff was ever leſs qualified to write a hiſtory of England. His narrative is dry, uncircumſtantial and unimportant: he mentions the deaths of princes and revolutions of government, with the ſame phlegm and brevity as he would ſpeak of the appointment of churchwardens.

But the great ſource from whence all later hiſtorians have taken their materials for the reign of Richard the Third, is Sir Thomas More. Grafton, the next in order, has copied him verbatim: ſo does Hollingſhed-- and we are told by the former in a marginal note, that Sir Thomas was under-ſheriff of London when he compoſed his work. He was then in the vigour of his fancy, and freſh from the ſtudy of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, whoſe manner he has imitated in divers imaginary orations. They ſerve to lengthen an unknown hiſtory of little more than two months into a ſizeable volume; but are no more to be received as genuine, than the facts they are adduced to countenance. An under-ſheriff of London, aged but twenty-eight, was not likely to be furniſhed with materials from any high authority, and could not receive them from the beſt authority, I mean the adverſe party, who were proſcribed, and all their chiefs baniſhed or put to death. Let us again recur to dates*. Sir Thomas More was born in 1480: he was appointed under-ſheriff in 1508, and received his informations from archbiſhop Morton. And could he have drawn from a more corrupted ſource?

* Vide Biog. Britannica. p. 3159.

ſource? Morton had not only violated his allegiance to Richard; but had been the chief engine to dethrone him, and to plant a baſtard ſcyon on the throne. Of all men living there could not be a more ſuſpicious teſtimony than his, except the king's: and had the archbiſhop ſelected More for the hiſtorian of thoſe dark ſcenes, Who had ſo much intereſt to blacken Richard, as the man who had riſen to be prime miniſter to his rival?

Sir Thomas wrote his reign of Edward the Fifth as he wrote his Utopia; to amuſe his leiſure and exerciſe his fancy. He took up a canvas and embroidered it with a flowing deſign, as his imagination ſuggeſted the colours. I ſhould deal more ſeverely with his reſpected memory on any other hypotheſis. He has been guilty of ſuch palpable falſhoods, as while they deſtroy his credit as an hiſtorian, would reproach his veracity as a man, if we could impute them to premeditated perverſion of truth, and not to youthful levity and inaccuracy. Standing as they do, the ſole ground-work of that reign's hiſtory, I am authorized to pronounce the work, a mere romance.

There was a foreign writer in that age, of far greater authority, whoſe negligent ſimplicity and veracity are unqueſtionable; who had great opportunities of knowing our ſtory, and whoſe teſtimony is corroborated by our records: I mean Philip de Comines. He and Buck agree with one another, and with the rolls of parliament; Sir Thomas More with none of them.

I perhaps have leſs penetration; but the parliamentary hiſtory, the compariſon of dates, and the authentic monument lately come to light, and from which I ſhall give extracts, have convinced me, that, if Buck is too favourable, all our hiſtorians are blind guides, and have not made out a twentieth part of their aſſertions.

The ſtory of Edward the Fifth is thus related by Sir Thomas More, and copied from him by all our hiſtorians.

When the king his father died, the prince kept his court at Ludlow, under the tuition of his uncle Anthony earl Rivers. Richard duke of Glouceſter was in the north, returning from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Scots. The queen wrote inſtantly to her brother to bring up the young king to London, with a train of two thouſand horſe: a fact allowed by hiſtorians, and which, whether a prudent caution or not, was the firſt overt-act of the new reign; and likely to ſtrike, as it did the duke of Glouceſter and the antient nobility with a jealouſy, that the queen intended to exclude them from the adminiſtration.

Edward, on his death-bed, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's kindred and the great lords of the court; particularly between the marquis of Dorſet, the queen's ſon, and the lord chamberlain Haſtings. Yet whether the diſguſted lords had only ſeemed to yield, or whether the ſteps taken by the queen gave them new umbrage, it appears that the duke of Buckingham was the firſt to communicate his ſuſpicions to Glouceſter, and to

to dedicate himſelf to his ſervice. Lord Haſtings was ſcarce leſs forward to join in like meaſures.

In the king's journey to London, the duke's of Glouceſter and Buckingham, having before arreſted the earl of Rivers, accuſed the marquis of Dorſet, and their uncle Rivers, of ambitious and hoſtile deſigns, to which ends the marquis had entered the Tower, taken treaſure thence, and ſent a force to ſea.

Be it obſerved, that as Glouceſter was the firſt prince of the blood, the conſtitution pointed him out as regent; no will, no diſpoſition of the late king was even alledged to bar his pretenſions; he had ſerved the ſtate with bravery, ſucceſs, and fidelity; and the queen herſelf, who had been inſulted by Clarence, had had no cauſe to complain of Glouceſter. Yet all her conduct intimated deſigns of governing by force in the name of her ſon. If theſe facts are impartially ſtated, and grounded on the confeſſion of thoſe who inveigh moſt bitterly againſt Richard's memory, let us allow that at leaſt *thus far* he acted as moſt princes would have done in his ſituation, and rather inſtigated by others, than from any before-conceived ambition and ſyſtem.

Lord Richard, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, were with lord Rivers ſent priſoners to Pomfret, while the dukes conducted the king by eaſy ſtages to London.

The queen hearing what had happened, took ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, with her other ſon the duke of York, and the princeſſes her daughters. Rotheram, archbiſhop of York and

and Lord Chancellor, repaired to her with the great ſeal, and endeavoured to comfort her with a friendly meſſage from Haſtings, who was with the confederate lords on the road. "A woe worth him!" quoth the queen, "for *it is he* that goeth about to deſtroy me "and my blood!" Not a word is ſaid of her ſuſpecting the duke of Glouceſter.

The dukes continued their march, declaring they were bringing the king to his coronation. Haſtings, who ſeems to have preceded them, endeavoured to pacify the apprehenſions in the people, acquainting them that the arreſted lords had been impriſoned for plotting againſt the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham. As both thoſe princes were of the blood royal §, this accuſation was not ill founded, it having evidently been the intention, to bar them from any ſhare in the adminiſtration, to which, by the cuſtom of the realm, they were intitled. So much depends on this foundation, that I ſhall be excuſed from enforcing it. The queen's party were the aggreſſors; and though that alone would not juſtify all the following exceſſes, yet we muſt not judge of thoſe times by the preſent. Neither the crown nor the great men were reſtrained by eſtabliſhed forms as they are at preſent; and from the death of Edward the Third, force alone had dictated. Henry the Fourth had ſtepped into the throne contrary to all juſtice. A title ſo defective had

§ Henry duke of Buckingham was the immediate deſcendant and heir of Thomas of Woodſtock duke of Glouceſter, the youngeſt ſon of Edward the Third.

had opened a door to attempts as violent; and the various innovations introduced in the latter years of Henry the Sixth had annihilated all ideas of order. Richard duke of York had been declared ſucceſſor to the crown during the life of Henry and of his ſon prince Edward, and, as appears by the Parliamentary Hiſtory, though not noticed by our careleſs hiſtorians, was even appointed prince of Wales. The duke of Clarence had received much ſuch another declaration in his favour during the ſhort reſtoration of Henry. What temptations were theſe precedents to an affronted prince! We ſhall ſee ſoon what encouragement they gave him to examine cloſely into his nephew's pretenſions; and how imprudent it was in the queen to provoke Glouceſter, when her very exiſtence as queen was liable to ſtrong objections. Nor ought the ſubſequent executions of lord Rivers, lord Richard Grey, and of lord Haſtings himſelf, to be conſidered in ſo ſtrong a light, as they would appear in, if acted in modern times. During the wars of York and Lancaſter, no forms of trial had been obſerved. Not only peers taken in battle had been put to death without proceſs; but whoever, though not in arms, was made priſoner by the victorious party, underwent the ſame fate. Trials had never been uſed with any degree of ſtrictneſs, as at preſent; and though Richard was purſued and killed as an uſurper, the Solomon that ſucceeded him, was not a jot leſs of a tyrant. Henry the Eighth was ſtill leſs of a temper to give greater latitude to the laws. In fact, little ceremony or judicial proceeding

was

was obſerved on trials, till the reign of Elizabeth, the firſt of our princes, under whom any gravity or equity was allowed in caſes of treaſon. And this is all I contend for, that the crimes of Richard, which he really committed, at leaſt we have ſome reaſon to believe ſo, were more the crimes of the age than of the man. And except theſe executions of Rivers, Grey, and Haſtings, I defy any body to prove one other of thoſe charged on him, from any good authority.

Sir Thomas confeſſes, that *divers lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen, or for fear of themſelves, aſſembled companies, and went flocking together in harneſs.* Let us ſtrip this paragraph of its hiſtoric buſkins, and it is plain that *the queen's party took up arms* †. This is no indifferent circumſtance. She had plotted to keep poſſeſſion of the king, and to govern in his name by force, but had been outwitted, and her family had been impriſoned for the attempt. Conſcious that ſhe was diſcovered, ſhe had ſecured herſelf and her younger children in ſanctuary. Neceſſity rather than law juſtified her proceedings.---But what excuſe can be made for her faction having recourſe to arms? Who was authoriſed, by the tenour of former reigns, to guard the king's perſon, till parliament ſhould declare a regency, but his uncle and the princes of the blood? endeavouring to eſtabliſh the queen's authority by force, was rebellion. I ſtate this minutely, becauſe the fact has never been attended to; and

† This is confirmed by the chronicle of Croyland, p. 566.

and later hiſtorians paſs it over, as if Richard had hurried on the depoſition of his nephews without any colour, and without the leaſt provocation. Haſtings is even ſaid to have warned the citizens that matters were likely *to come to a field* (a battle) from the oppoſition of the adverſe party, though as yet no ſymptom had appeared of deſigns againſt the king, whom the two dukes were bringing to his coronation. Nay, it is not probable that Glouceſter had as yet meditated more than the regency; had he had deſigns on the crown, would he have weakened his own claim by aſſuming the protectorate, which he could not accept but by acknowledging the title of his nephew? This ſeems to me to have been the caſe. The ambition of the queen and her family alarmed the princes and the nobility: Glouceſter, Buckingham, Haſtings, and many more had checked thoſe attempts. The next ſtep was to ſecure the regency: but none of theſe acts could be done without grievous provocation to the queen. As ſoon as her ſon ſhould come of age, ſhe might regain her power and the means of revenge. Self-ſecurity prompted the princes and lords to guard againſt this reverſe; and the depreſſion of the queen called forth and revived all the hatred of her enemies. Her marriage had given univerſal offence to the nobility, and been the ſource of all the late bloodſhed. The great earl of Warwick, provoked at the contempt ſhewn to him by king Edward while negociating a match for him in France, had abandoned him for Henry the Sixth, whom he

he had again ſet on the throne. Theſe calamities were ſtill freſh in every mind, and no doubt contributed to raiſe Glouceſter to the throne, which he could not have attained without almoſt general concurrence: yet if we are to believe hiſtorians, he, Buckingham, the mayor of London, and one Dr. Shaw, operated this revolution by a ſermon and a ſpeech to the people, though the people would not even give a huzza to the propoſal. The change of government in the Rehearſal is not effected more eaſily by the phyſician and gentleman uſher,

"Do you take this, and I'll ſeize t'other chair."

In what manner Richard was inveſted with the protectorate does not appear. Probably as the parliament was not ſitting, this dignity was conferred on him by the aſſent of the lords and the privy council; and as we hear of no oppoſition, certainly none was made. He was the only perſon to whom that rank was due; his right could not and does not ſeem to have been queſtioned. The Chronicle of Croyland corroborates my opinion, ſaying, "Accepitque dictus Ricardus dux Gloceſtriæ "illum ſolennem magiſtratum, qui duci "Humfrido Gloceſtriæ, ſtante minore "ætate regis Henrici, ut regni protector ap- "pellaretur, olim contingebat. Ea igitur "auctoritate uſus eſt, de conſenſu & bene- "placito *omnium dominorum*," p. 556.

Thus far therefore it muſt be allowed that Richard acted no illegal part, nor diſcovered more ambition than became him. He had defeated

defeated the queen's innovations, and secured her accomplices. He afterwards sent for the younger brother by the archbishop of Canterbury. And the chronicle declares, that the queen "Verbis gratanter annuens, dimisit puerum." The king, who had been lodged in the palace of the bishop of London, was then removed with his brother to the Tower.

This last circumstance has not a little contributed to raise horror in vulgar minds, who of late years have been accustomed to see no persons of rank lodged in the Tower but state criminals. But in that age the case was widely different. It not only appears by a map engraven so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the Tower was a royal palace, in which were ranges of buildings called the king's and queen's apartments, now demolished; but it is a known fact, that they did often lodge there, especially previous to their coronations. I come now to one of the principal transactions of this dark period: I mean Richard's assumption of the crown. Sir Thomas More's account of this is totally improbable, and positively false in the groundwork of that revolution. For what man of common sense can believe, that Richard would publicly asperse the honour of his own mother? That mother, Cecily duchess dowager of York, a princess of a spotless character, was then living: so were two of her daughters, the duchesses of Suffolk and Burgundy, Richard's own sisters: one of them, the dutchess of Suffolk walked at his ensuing coronation, and her

her ſon the the earl of Lincoln was by Richard himſelf, after the death of his own ſon, declared heir apparent to the crown. Is it, can it be credible, that Richard actuated a venal ‡ preacher to declare to the people from the pulpit at Paul's croſs, that his mother had been an adultereſs, and that her two eldeſt ſons, Edward the Fourth and the duke of Clarence were ſpurious; and that the good lady had not given a legitimate child to her huſband, but the protector, and I ſuppoſe the dutcheſs of Suffolk, though no mention is ſaid to be made of her in the ſermon? For as the dutcheſs of Suffolk was older than Richard, and conſequently would have been involved in the charge of baſtardy, could he have declared her ſon his heir, he who ſet aſide his brother Edward's children for their illegitimacy? Ladies of the leaſt diſputable gallantry generally ſuffer their huſbands to beget his heir; and if doubts ariſe on the legitimacy of their iſſue, the younger branches ſeem moſt liable to ſuſpicion--- but a tale ſo groſs could not have paſſed even on the mob---no proof, no preſumption of the fact was

‡ What ſhould we think of a modern hiſtorian, who ſhould ſink all mention of the convention parliament, and only tell us that one Dr. Burnet got up into the pulpit, and aſſured the people that Henrietta Maria (a little more ſuſpected of gallantry than dutcheſs Cecily) produced Charles the Second and James the Second in adultery, and gave no legitimate iſſue to Charles the Firſt, but Mary princeſs of Orange, mother of king William; that the people laughed at him, and *ſo* the prince of Orange became king?

was pretended. Were the || ducheſs and her daughters ſilent on ſo ſcandalous an inſinuation? The imputation was beyond meaſure atrocious and abſurd. What! taint the fame of his mother to pave his way to the crown! Who had heard of her guilt? And if guilty, how came ſhe to ſtop the career of her intrigues? But Richard had better pretenſions, and had no occaſion to ſtart doubts even on his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brothers to be toſſed and bandied about before the multitude. Clarence had been ſolemnly attainted by act of parliament, and his children were out of the queſtion. The doubts on the validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aſperſion of his mother's honour. On that invalidity he claimed the crown, and obtained it; and with ſuch univerſal concurrence, that the nation undoubtedly was on his ſide---but as he could not deprive his nephews, on that foundation, without baſtardizing their ſiſters too, no wonder the hiſtorians, who wrote under the Lancaſtrian domination, have uſed all their art and induſtry to miſrepreſent the fact. If the marriage of Edward the Fourth with the widow Grey was bigamy, and conſequently null, what became of the title of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry the Seventh?

What

|| It appears from Rymer's Fœdera, that the very firſt act of Richard's reign is dated from quadam alterâ camerâ juxta capellam in hoſpitio dominæ Ceciliæ ducisſæ Eborum. It does not look much as if he had publicly accuſed his mother of adultery, when he held his firſt council at her houſe.

What became of it? Why a baſtard branch of Lancaſter, matched with a baſtard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and, as far as two negatives can make an affirmative, they were ſo.

Buck, whoſe integrity will more and more appear, affirms that, before Edward had eſpouſed the lady Grey, he had been contracted to the lady Eleanor Butler, and married her by the biſhop of Bath. Sir Thomas More, on the contrary (and here it is that I am unwillingly obliged to charge that great man with wilful falſhood) pretends that the ducheſs of York, his mother, endeavouring to diſſuade him from ſo diſproportionate an alliance, urged him with a precontract to one Elizabeth Lucy, who however, being preſſed, confeſſed herſelf his concubine. Such indeed ſhe was; but in Richard's purſuit of the crown, no queſtion at all was made of this Elizabeth Lucy. We have the moſt undoubted authorities to aſſure us, that Edward's precontract or marriage, urged to invalidate his match with the lady Grey, was with the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of the lord Butler of Sudely, and ſiſter of the earl of Shrewſbury, one of the greateſt peers in the kingdom; her mother was the lady Katherine Stafford, daughter of Humphrey duke of Buckingham, prince of the blood: an alliance in that age never reckoned unſuitable. Hear the evidence. Honeſt Philip de Comines ſays, "that the biſhop of Bath informed "Richard that he had married king Edward

to an Engliſh lady; & dit cet eveſque qu'il les avoit eſpouſes, & que n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux." This deſcription arks out the lady Butler, and not Elizabeth ucy. The Chronicle of Croyland is more xpreſs. "Color autem introitus & captæ poſſeſſionis hujuſmodi is erat. Oſtendebatur per modum ſupplicationis in quodam rotulo pergameni quod filii regis Edwardi erant baſtardi, ſupponendo illum precontraxiſſe cum quâdam dominâ Alienorâ Boteler, antequam reginam Elizabeth duxiſſet uxorem; atque inſuper, quod ſanguis alterius fratris ſui, Georgii ducis Clarentiæ, fuiſſet attinctus; ita quod hodie nullus certus & incorruptus ſanguis linealis ex parte Ricardi ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, niſi in perſonâ dicti Ricardi ducis Gloceſtriæ. Quo circa ſupplicabatur ei in fine ejuſdem rotuli, *ex parte dominorum & communitatis regni*, ut jus ſuum in ſe aſſumeret." s this full? Is this evidence? Here we ſee he origin of the tale relating to the ducheſs of York; *nullus certus & incorruptus ſanguis*: rom theſe miſtaken or perverted words flowed he report of Richard's aſperſing his mother's honour. But as if truth was doomed to emerge, though ſtifled for near three hundred years, the roll of parliament is at length come to light, and ſets forth, "that though *the three eſtates* which petitioned Richard to aſſume the crown were not aſſembled in form of parliament;" yet it rehearſes the ſupplication (recorded by the chronicle above) and declares, "that king Edward was and

" ſtood married and troth plight to one dame
" Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of
" Shrewſbury, with whom the ſaid king Ed-
" ward had made a pre-contract of matri-
" mony, long before he made his pretended
" marriage with Elizabeth Grey." Could Sir Thomas More be ignorant of this fact? or, if ignorant, where is his competence as an hiſtorian? And how egregiouſly abſurd is his romance of Richard's aſſuming the crown in conſequence of Dr. Shaw's ſermon and Buckingham's harangue, to neither of which he pretends the people aſſented! It is evident that the nobility called the validity of the queen's marriage in queſtion, and that Richard was ſolemnly invited by the three eſtates to accept the regal dignity. The nobility aſſerted Richard's claim from their hatred and jealouſy of the queen's family, and many of them from the conviction of Edward's pre-contract. Many might concur from provocation at the attempts that had been made to diſturb the due courſe of law, and ſome from apprehenſion of a minority. The great regularity with which the coronation was prepared and conducted, and the extraordinary concourſe of the nobility at it, have not at all the air of an unwelcome revolution, accompliſhed merely by violence. On the contrary, it bore great reſemblance to a much later event, which, being the laſt of the kind, we term *The Revolution*. The three eſtates of nobility, clergy and people, which called Richard to the crown, and whoſe act was confirmed by the ſubſequent parliament, trod the ſame ſteps as the convention did,

did, which elected the prince of Orange; both ſetting aſide an illegal pretender, the legitimacy of whoſe birth was called in queſtion. And it appears that Richard's cauſe was as good as king William's, and that in both inſtances it was a free election. The art uſed by Sir Thomas More (when he could not deny a pre-contract) in endeavouring to ſhift that objection on Elizabeth Lucy, a married woman, contrary to the ſpecific words of the act of parliament, betrays the badneſs of the Lancaſtrian cauſe, which would make us wonder at the nobility's giving way to the act for baſtardizing the children of Edward the Fourth. But reinſtate the claim of the lady Butler, which was well known, and conceive the intereſt that her great relations muſt have made to ſet aſide the queen's marriage, nothing appears more natural than Richard's ſucceſſion. His uſurpation vaniſhes, and in a few pages more I ſhall ſhew that his conſequential cruelty vaniſhes too.

In this whole ſtory nothing is leſs known to us than the grounds on which Lord Haſtings was put to death. He had lived in open enmity with the queen and her family, and had been but newly reconciled to her ſon: yet Sir Thomas owns lord Haſtings was one of the firſt to abet Richard's proceedings againſt her, and concurred in all the protector's meaſures. We are amazed therefore to find this lord the firſt ſacrifice under the new government. Sir Thomas owns that the protector *loved him well, and loth he was to have him loſt.* What then can

we think, but that Haſtings really was plotting to defeat the new ſettlement contrary to the intention of the three eſtates? And who can tell whether the ſuddenneſs of the execution was not the effect of neceſſity? The gates of the Tower were ſhut during that rapid ſcene; the protector and his adherents appeared in the firſt ruſty armour that was at hand: but this is alledged againſt them, as contrived to gain belief, as if they had been in danger of their lives. The argument is gratis dictum; and as Richard loved Haſtings, it is more reaſonable to believe, that Richard acted in ſelf-defence, than that he exerciſed a wanton, unneceſſary, and diſguſting cruelty. The collateral circumſtances introduced by More do but weaken his account; I mean, the idle accuſations put into the mouth of Richard, ſuch as his baring his withered arm, and imputing it to Sorcery, and to his blending the queen and Jane Shore in the ſame plot. Cruel or not, Richard was no fool; and therefore it is highly improbable that he ſhould lay the withering of his arm on recent witchcraft, if it was true, as Sir Thomas More pretends, that it never had been otherwiſe.----For the other accuſation of a league between Elizabeth and Jane Shore, Sir Thomas More ridicules it himſelf, and treats it as highly unlikely. But being unlikely, was it not more natural for him to think, that it never was urged by Richard? And though Sir Thomas again draws aſide our attention by the penance of Jane, which ſhe certainly underwent, it is no kind

kind of proof that the protector accuſed the queen of having plotted with miſtreſs Shore*. What relates to that unhappy fair one I ſhall examine at the end of this work.

The very day on which Haſtings was executed, were beheaded earl Rivers, lord Richard Grey, Vaughan, and Haute. Theſe executions are indubitable; were conſonant to the manners and violence of the age; and perhaps juſtifiable by that wicked code, ſtate-neceſſity.

All obſtacles thus removed, and Richard being ſolemnly inſtated in the throne by the concurrent voice of the three eſtates, "He "openly," ſays Sir Thomas More, "took "upon him to be king, the † ninth day of "June, and the morrow after was proclaim-"ed, riding to Weſtminſter with great ſtate; "and calling the judges before him, ſtraitly "commanded them to execute the laws with-"out favour or delay, with many good ex-"hortations, of the which he followed not "one." This is an invidious and falſe accuſation. Richard, in his regal capacity, was an excellent king, and for the ſhort time of his

* So far from it, that, as Mr. Hume remarks, there is in Rymer's Fœdera a proclamation of Richard, in which he accuſes, not the lord Haſtings, but the marquis of Dorſet, of connexion with Jane Shore.

† Though I have copied our hiſtorian, as the reſt have copied him in this date, I muſt deſire the reader to take notice, that this very date is another of Sir T. More's errors; for in the public acts is a deed of Edward the Fifth, dated June 17th.

his reign enacted many wiſe and wholeſome laws. I doubt even whether one of the beſt proofs of his uſurpation was not the goodneſs of his government, according to a common remark, that princes of doubtful titles make the beſt maſters. Certain it is, that in many parts of the kingdom, not poiſoned by faction, he was much beloved; and even after his death the northern counties gave open teſtimony of their affection to his memory.

On the ſixth of July Richard was crowned, and ſoon after ſet out on a progreſs to York, on his way viſiting Glouceſter, the ſeat of his former dutchy. And now it is that I muſt call up the attention of the reader, the capital and bloody ſcene of Richard's life being dated from this progreſs. The narrative teems with notorious falſhoods, and is flatly contradicted by ſo many unqueſtionable facts, that if we have no other reaſon to believe the murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother, than the account tranſmitted to us, we ſhall very much doubt whether they ever were murdered at all. I will ſtate the account, examine it, and produce evidence to confute it.

Richard before he left London, had taken no meaſures to accompliſh the aſſaſſination; but on the road "his mind miſgave him, "that while his nephews lived, he ſhould not "poſſeſs the crown with ſecurity*. Upon "this reflection he diſpatched one Richard "Greene to Sir Robert Brakenbury, lieu-"tenant of the Tower, with a letter that "the

* Sir T. More.

" the ſame Sir Robert in any wiſe ſhould put " the two children to death. This Greene " did his errand to Brakenbury, who plain- " ly anſwered that he never would put them " to death." Green returned with this an- ſwer to the king who was then at Warwick, wherewith he took ſuch diſpleaſure, that the ſame night he ſaid unto a page, " Ah! whom " ſhall a man truſt? They that I have " brought up myſelf, they that I thought " would have moſt ſurely ſerved me, even " thoſe will do nothing for me." " Sir," quoth the page, " there lieth one in the " chamber without, that I dare ſay will doe " your grace pleaſure:" meaning by this, James Tyrrel, whom ſays Sir Thomas a few pages afterwards, he there made a knight, " The man," continues More, " had an " high heart, and ſore longed upwards, not " riſing yet ſo faſt as he had hoped, being " hindered and kept under by Sir Richard " Ratcliffe and Sir William Cateſby." Tir- rel accepted the commiſſion, received warrant to authorize Brakenbury to deliver to him the keys of the Tower for one night; and having ſelected two other villains called Miles Foreſt and John Dighton, the two latter ſmothered the innocent princes in their beds, and then called Tirrel to be witneſs of the execution.

It is difficult to crowd more improbabilities and lies together than are comprehended in this ſhort narrative. Who can believe, if Richard meditated the murder, that he took no care to ſift Brakenbury before he left Lon- don? Who can believe that he would truſt ſo

atrocious a commiſſion to a letter? And who can imagine, that on * Brakenbury's non-compliance, Richard would have ordered him to cede the government of the Tower to Tirrel for one night only, the purpoſe of which had been ſo plainly pointed out by the preceding meſſage? And had ſuch weak ſteps been taken, could the murder itſelf have remained a problem? And yet Sir Thomas More himſelf is forced to confeſs at laſt, "that the deaths of the two young princes "have nevertheleſs ſo far come in queſtion, "that ſome remained long in doubt, whether "they were *in his days* deſtroyed ‡ or no."

Very

* It appears from the Fœdera, that Brakenbury was appointed Conſtable of the Tower July 7th; that he ſurrendered his patent March 9th of the following year, and had one more ample granted to him. If it is ſuppoſed that Richard renewed this patent to Sir Robert Brakenbury, to prevent his diſcloſing what he knew of the murder, I then aſk, if it is probable that a man too virtuous or too cautious to embark in an aſſaſſination, would have laid down his life in that uſurper's cauſe, as Sir Robert did, being killed on Richard's ſide at Boſworth, when many other of his adherents betrayed him?

‡ This is confirmed by lord Bacon: "Neither "wanted there even at that time ſecret rumours "and whiſperings (which afterwards gathered "ſtrength, and turned to great trouble) that the "two young ſons of king Edward the Fourth, or "one of them (which were ſaid to be deſtroyed "in the Tower) were not indeed murthered, but "conveyed ſecretly away, and yet living."

Reign of Henry VII, p. 4.

Very memorable words, ſufficient to balance More's own teſtimony with the moſt ſanguine believers. He adds, "theſe doubts not only "aroſe from the uncertainty men were in, "whether Perkin Warbeck was the true "duke of York, but for that all things were "ſo covertly demeaned, that there was no-"thing plain and openly proved." Sir Thomas goes on to affirm, ".that he does not relate "the ſtory after every way that he had heard, "but after that way that he had heard it by "ſuch men and ſuch meanes, as he thought "it hard but it ſhould be true." This affirmation reſts on the credibility of certain reporters, we do not know whom. But to proceed to the confutation. James Tirrel, a man in no ſecret truſt with the king, and kept down by Cateſby and Ratcliffe, is recommended as a proper perſon by a nameleſs page. In the firſt place Richard was crowned at York (after this tranſaction) September 8th. Edward the Fourth had not been dead four months, and Richard in poſſeſſion of any power not above two months, and thoſe very buſtling and active: Tirrel muſt have been impatient indeed, if the page had had time to obſerve his diſcontent at the ſuperior confidence of Ratcliff and Cateſby. It happens unluckily too, that great part of the time Ratcliff was abſent, Sir Thomas More himſelf telling us that Sir Richard Ratcliffe had the cuſtody of the priſoners at Pontefract, and preſided at their execution there. But a much more unlucky circumſtance is, that James Tirrel, ſaid to be knighted for this

horrid ſervice, was not only a knight before, but a great or very conſiderable officer of the crown; and in that ſituation had walked at Richard's preceding coronation.

That Sir James Tirrel was and did walk as maſter of the horſe at Richard's coronation cannot be conteſted. A moſt curious, invaluable, and authentic monument has lately been diſcovered, the coronation-roll of Richard the Third. Two ſeveral deliveries of parcels of ſtuff are there expreſly entered, as made to "Sir James Tirrel, knyght, maiſter "of the hors of our ſayd ſoverayn lorde the "kynge." What now becomes of Sir Thomas More's informers, and of their narrative, which he thought hard but muſt be true?

I will go a ſtep farther, and conſider the evidence of this murder, as produced by Henry the ſeventh ſome years afterwards, when it was neceſſary for his majeſty to hope it had been true; at leaſt to hope the people would think ſo. On the appearance of Perkin Warbeck, who gave himſelf out for the ſecond of the brothers, who was believed ſo by moſt people, and at leaſt feared by the king to be ſo, he beſtirred himſelf to prove that both the princes had been murdered by his predeceſſor. There had been but three actors, beſides Richard who had commanded the execution and was dead. Theſe were Sir James Tirrel, Dighton, and Forreſt; and theſe were all the perſons whoſe depoſitions Henry pretended to produce: at leaſt of two of them, for Forreſt it ſeems had rotted piecemeal away; a kind of death unknown at preſent

ſent to the college. Dighton certainly avowed the fact, and was ſuffered to go unpuniſhed where-ever he pleaſed---undoubtedly that he might ſpread the tale. And obſerve theſe remarkable words of Lord Bacon, "John Dighton, who it ſeemeth *ſpake beſt for the king*, "was forewith ſet at liberty." In truth, every ſtep of this pretended diſcovery, as it ſtands in Lord Bacon, warns us to give no heed to it, Dighton and Tirrel agreed both in a tale, *as the king gave out*. Their confeſſion therefore was not publickly made, and as Sir James Tirrel too was ſuffered to live§; but was ſhut up in the Tower, and put to death afterwards for we know not what treaſon; what can we believe, but that Dighton was ſome low mercenary wretch hired to aſſume the guilt of a crime he had not committed, and that Sir James Tirrel never did, never would confeſs what he had not done; and was therefore put out of the way on a fictitious imputation? It muſt be obſerved too, that no enquiry was made into the murder on the acceſſion of Henry the Seventh, the natural time for it, when the paſſions of men were heated, and when the duke of Norfolk, lord Lovel, Cateſby, Ratcliffe, and the real abettors or

§ It appears by Hall, that Sir James Tirrel had even enjoyed the favour of Henry; for Tirrel is named as captain of Guiſnes in a liſt of valiant officers that were ſent by Henry, in his fifth year, on an expedition into Flanders. Does this look as if Tirrel was ſo much as ſuſpected of the murder? And who can believe this pretended confeſſion afterwards?

accomplices of Richard, were attainted and executed. No mention of ſuch a murder was made in the very act of parliament that attainted Richard himſelf, and which would have been the moſt heinous aggravation of his crimes. And no proſecution of the ſuppoſed aſſaſſins was even thought of till eleven years afterwards, on the appearance of Perkin Warbeck. Tirrel is not named in the act of attainder; and ſuch omiſſions cannot but induce us to ſurmiſe that Henry had never been certain of the deaths of the princes, nor ever intereſted himſelf to prove that both were dead, till he had great reaſon to believe that one of them was alive.

Having thus diſproved the *account* of the murder, let us now examine, whether we can be ſure that the murder was committed.

Of all men it was moſt incumbent on cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to aſcertain the fact. To him had the queen entruſted her younger ſon, and the prelate had pledged himſelf for his ſecurity----unleſs every ſtep of this hiſtory is involved in falſehood. Yet what was the behaviour of the archbiſhop? He appears not to have made the leaſt inquiry into the reports of the murder of both children; nay, not even after Richard's death: on the contrary, Bourchier was the very man who placed the crown on his head*; and yet not one hiſtorian cenſures this

* As cardinal Bourchier ſet the crown on Richard's head at Weſtminſter, ſo did archbiſhop Rotherham at York. Theſe prelates either did not believe Richard

this conduct. Threats and fear could not have dictated this ſhameleſs negligence. Every body knows what was the authority of prieſts in that age; an archbiſhop was ſacred, a cardinal inviolable. As Bourchier ſurvived Richard, was it not incumbent on him to ſhew, that the duke of York had been aſſaſſinated in ſpite of all his endeavours to ſave him? What can be argued from this inactivity of Bourchier, but that he did not believe the children were murdered?

Richard's conduct in a parallel caſe is a ſtrong preſumption that this barbarity was falſely laid to his charge. Edward, earl of Warwick, his nephew, and ſon of the duke of Clarence, was in his power too, and no indifferent rival, if king Edward's children were baſtards. Clarence had been attainted; but ſo had almoſt every prince who had aſpired to the crown after Richard the ſecond. Richard duke of York, the father of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, was ſon of Richard earl of Cambridge, beheaded for treaſon; yet that duke of York held his father's attainder no bar to his ſucceſſion. Yet how did Richard the Third treat his nephew and competitor, the young Warwick? John Rous, a

Richard had murdered his nephews, or were ſhamefully complaiſant themſelves. Yet their characters ſtand unimpeached in hiſtory. Could Richard be guilty, and the archbiſhops be blameleſs? Could both be ignorant what was become of the young princes, when both had negotiated with the queen dowager? As neither is accuſed of being the creature of Richard, it is probable that neither of them believed he had taken off his nephews.

a zealous Lancaſtrian and contemporary ſhall inform us; and will at the ſame time tell us an important anecdote, maliciouſly ſuppreſſed or ignorantly omitted by all our hiſtorians. Richard actually proclaimed him heir to the crown after the death of his own ſon, and ordered him to be ſerved next to himſelf and the queen, though he afterwards ſet him aſide†. The very day after the battle of Boſworth, the uſurper Richmond was ſo far from being led aſide from attention to his intereſt by the glare of his new-acquired crown, that he ſent for the earl of Warwick from Sheriff-Hutton and committed him to the Tower, from whence he never ſtirred more, falling a ſacrifice to the inhuman jealouſy of Henry, as his ſiſter, the venerable counteſs of Saliſbury, did afterwards to that of Henry the Eighth. Richard, on the contrary, was very affectionate to his family: inſtances appear in his treatment of the earls of Warwick and Lincoln. The Lady Ann Poole, ſiſter of the latter, Richard had agreed to marry to the prince of Scotland.

The more generous behaviour of Richard to the ſame young prince (Warwick) ought to

† P. 218. Rous is the more to be credited for this fact, as he ſaw the earl of Warwick in company with Richard at Warwick the year before on the progreſs to York, which ſhews that the king treated his nephew with kindneſs, and did not confine him till the plots of his enemies thickening, Richard found it neceſſary to ſecure ſuch as had any pretenſions to the crown. This will account for his preferring the earl of Lincoln, who, being his ſiſter's ſon, could have no prior claim before himſelf;

e applied to the caſe of Edward the Fifth, f no proof exiſts of the murder. But what uſpicious words are thoſe of Sir Thomas Iore, quoted above, and unobſerved by all ur hiſtorians: "*Some remained long in doubt*," ys he, "*whether they* (the children) *were in his* (Richard's) *days deſtroyed or no.*" If they ere not deſtroyed *in his days*, in *whoſe* days ere they murdered? Who will tell me that Henry the Seventh did not find, the eldeſt at eaſt, priſoner in the Tower; and if he did, hat was there in Henry's nature or character o prevent our ſurmiſes going farther?

And here let me lament that two of the reateſt men in our annals have proſtituted eir admirable pens, the one to blacken a reat prince, the other to varniſh a pitiful ty- ant. I mean the two chancellors, Sir Thomas Iore and lord Bacon. The moſt ſenſeleſs ories of the mob are converted to hiſtory, by e former; the latter is ſtill more culpable; e has held up to the imitation of ſucceeding inces, a man whoſe neareſt approach to wiſ- om was mean cunning; and has raiſed into legiſlator, a ſanguinary, ſordid, and trem- ing uſurper. Henry was a tyrannic huſband d ungrateful maſter; he cheated as well as preſſed his ſubjects, bartered the honour of e nation for foreign gold, and cut off every anch of the royal family, to enſure poſſeſſi- to his no title. Had he had any title, he uld claim it but from his mother, and her ſet aſide. But of all titles he preferred that conqueſt, which, if allowable in a foreign ince, can never be valid in a native, but

ought

ought to make him the execration of hi countrymen.

There is nothing ſtrained in the ſuppoſitio of Richard's ſparing his nephew. At leaſt i is certain *now*, that though he diſpoſſeſſed, h undoubtedly treated him at firſt with indul gence, attention, and reſpect; and though th proof I am going to give muſt have mortifie the friends of the dethroned young prince, ye it ſhewed great averſion to cruelty, and wa an indication that Richard rather aſſumed th crown for a ſeaſon, than as meaning to detai it always from his brother's poſterity. It i well known that in the Saxon times nothin was more common in caſes of minority tha for the uncle to be preferred to the nephew yet I have no doubt but Richard went ſo fa as to inſinuate an intention of reſtoring th crown when young Edward ſhould be of fu age. I have three ſtrong proofs of this. I the firſt place Sir Thomas More reports tha the duke of Buckingham in his converſatio with Morton, after his defection from Richar told the biſhop that the protector's firſt propo ſal had been to take the crown, till Edwar his nephew ſhould attain the age of twenty four years. Morton was certainly competen evidence of theſe diſcourſes, and therefore credible one; and the idea is confirmed b the two other proofs I alluded to; the ſecon of which was, that Richard's ſon did *not* wa at his father's coronation.

But though Richard's ſon did not walk his father's coronation, Edward the Fifth di and this is my third proof. I conceive all th aſtoniſh

aſtoniſhment of my readers at this aſſertion, and yet it is founded on ſtrong evidence. In the coronation roll itſelf is this amazing entry; "To Lord Edward, ſon of late king Edward "the Fourth, for his apparel and array, that "is to ſay, a ſhort gowne made of two yards "and three quarters of crymſon clothe of "gold, lyned with two yards ¾ of blac velvet, "a long gowne made of vi yards D of crym-"ſon cloth of gold lynned with ſix yards of "green damaſk, a ſhorte gowne made of two "yards ¼ of purpell velvett lyned with two "yards ¾ of green damaſk, a doublett and a "ſtomacher made of two yards of blac ſatyn, "&c." beſides two foot cloths, a bonnet of purple velvet, nine horſe harneſs, and nine ſaddle houſes (houſings) of blue velvet, gilt ſpurs, with many other rich articles, and magnificent apparel for his henchmen or pages.

Let no body tell me that theſe robes, this magnificence, theſe trappings for a cavalcade, were for the uſe of a priſoner. Marvellous as the fact is, there can no longer be any doubt but the depoſed young king walked at his uncle's coronation. This precious monument, a terrible reproach to Sir Thomas More and his copyiſts, who have been ſilent on ſo public an event, exiſts in the great wardrobe; it is written on vellom, and is bound with the coronation rolls of Henry the Seventh and Eighth. It is the account of Peter Courteys keeper of the great wardrobe, and dates from the day of king Edward the Fourth his death, to the feaſt of the purification in the February of the following year.

Peter

Peter Courteys ſpecifies what ſtuff he found in the wardrobe, what contracts he made for the enſuing coronation, and the deliveries in conſequence. The whole is couched in the moſt minute and regular manner, and is preferable to a thouſand vague and intereſted hiſtories. The concourſe of nobility at that ceremony was extraordinary great: there were preſent no fewer than three ducheſſes of Norfolk. Has this the air of a forced and precipitate election? Or does it not indicate a voluntary concurrence of the nobility? No mention being made in the roll of the young duke of York, no robes being ordered for him, it looks extremely as if he was not in Richard's cuſtody; and ſtrengthens the probability that will appear hereafter, of his having been conveyed away.

Can it be doubted now, but that Richard meant to have it thought that his aſſumption of the crown was only temporary? But when he proceeded to baſtardize his nephew by act of parliament, then it became neceſſary to ſet him entirely aſide: ſtronger proofs of the baſtardy might have come out; and it is reaſonable to infer this, for on the death of his own ſon, when Richard had no longer any reaſon of family to bar his brother Edward's children, inſtead of again calling them to the ſucceſſion, as he at firſt projected, he ſettled the crown on the iſſue of his ſiſter Suffolk, declaring her eldeſt ſon the earl of Lincoln his ſucceſſor. That young prince was ſlain in the battle of Stoke againſt Henry the Seventh, and his younger brother the earl

of Suffolk, who had fled to Flanders, was extorted from the archduke Philip, who by contrary winds had been driven into England. Henry took a ſolemn oath not to put him to death; but copying David rather than Solomon, he, on his death-bed, recommended it to his ſon Henry the Eighth to execute Suffolk; and Henry the Eighth was too pious not to obey the injunction.

They who the moſt firmly believe the murder of the two princes, more ſtrongly than the age did in which it was pretended to be committed; urge the diſappearance of the princes as a proof of the murder, but that argument vaniſhes entirely, at leaſt with regard to one of them, if Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York, as I ſhall ſhew, it is greatly probable he was.

With regard to the elder, his diſappearance is no kind of proof that he was murdered; he might die in the Tower. I have inſinuated that it is not impoſſible but Henry the ſeventh might find him alive in the Tower. We may be very ſure if he did find Edward alive there, he would not have notified his exiſtence, to acquit Richard and hazard his own crown. The circumſtances of the murder were evidently falſe, and invented by Henry to diſcredit Perkin; and the time of the murder is abſolutely a fiction, for it appears by the roll of parliament, which baſtardized Edward the Fifth, that he was then alive, which was ſeven months after the time aſſigned by More for his murder. If Richard ſpared him ſeven months, what could ſuggeſt a reaſon for his

his murder afterwards? To take him off the was ſtrengthening the plan of the earl Richmond, who aimed at the crown by marrying Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward the Fourth. As the houſe of York, never roſe again, as the reverſe of Richard's fortune deprived him of any friend, and as contemporaries but Fabian and the author the Chronicle have written a word on the period, and they too ſlightly to inform us it is impoſſible to know whether Richard ever took any ſteps to refute the calumny. The confeſſions of Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon that many doubted of the murder amount to a violent preſumption that the were not murdered: and to a proof that the deaths were never declared. No man has ever doubted that Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth periſhed at the times that were given out. Neither Henry the Fourth, nor Edward the Fourth thought it would much help their titles to leave it doubtful whether their competitors exiſted or not.

As Richard gained the crown by the illegitimacy of his nephews, his cauſing them to be murdered, would not only have ſhewn that he did not truſt to that plea, but would have transferred their claim to their ſiſters. And muſt not be told that his intended marriage with his niece is an anſwer to my argument, for were that imputation true, it had nothing to do with the murder of her brothers. And here the compariſon and irrefragability of dates puts this matter out of all doubt.

s not till the very cloſe of his reign that chard is even ſuppoſed to have thought of rrying his niece. The deaths of his ne-ews are dated in July or Auguſt 1483. s own ſon did not die till April 1484, nor queen till March 1485. He certainly refore did not mean to ſtrengthen his title marrying his niece to the diſinheriſon of own ſon; and having on the loſs of that , declared his nephew the earl of Lincoln ſucceſſor, it is plain that he ſtill truſted he illegitimacy of his brother's children: in no caſe can it be thought that he wiſh-to give ſtrength to the claim of the princeſs zabeth.

Let us now examine the accuſation of his nding to marry that niece: one of the ſequences of which intention is a vague icion of poiſoning his wife. The phy-ns declared ſhe could not hold out till il; and Mr. Buck ſaw in the earl of ndel's library a letter written in paſſionate ns of love for her uncle by Elizabeth to duke of Norfolk. Now is it in nature to eve that the princeſs could be impatient to ry him, if ſhe knew or thought he had dered her brothers? Had Richard been r to wed his niece, and had his character as impetuouſly wicked as it is repreſent-he would not have let the forward princeſs for the ſlow decay of her rival; nor did nink of it till nine months after the death s ſon; which ſhows it was only to pre-Richmond's marrying her. Learning the

the projected marriage of Elizabeth and the earl of Richmond, he amuſed the young princeſs with the hopes of making her his queen; and that Richard feared that alliance, is plain from his ſending her to the caſtle of Sheriff Hutton on the landing of Richmond.

The behaviour of the queen dowager muſt alſo be noticed. She was ſtripped by her ſon-in-law Henry of all her poſſeſſions, and confined to a monaſtery, for delivering up her daughters to Richard. Hiſtorians too are laviſh in their cenſures on her for conſenting to beſtow her daughter on the murderer of her ſons and brother. But if the murder of her ſons is, as we have ſeen, moſt uncertain, this ſolemn charge falls to the ground and for the deaths of her brother and lord Richard Grey, one of her eldeſt ſons, it has already appeared that ſhe imputed them to Haſtings. It is much more likely that Richard convinced her he had not murdered her ſons, than that ſhe delivered up her daughter to him believing it. The rigour exerciſed on her by Henry the Seventh on her countenancing Lambert Simnel, evidently ſet up to try the temper of the nation in favour of ſome prince of the houſe of York, is a violent preſumption that the queen dowager believed her ſecond ſon living.

It was in the ſecond year of Henry the Seventh that Lambert Simnel appeared. This youth firſt perſonated Richard duke of York, then Edward earl of Warwick; and was undoubtedly an impoſtor. Lord Bacon owns it was whiſpered every-where, that

leaſt one of the children of Edward the ourth was living. Such whiſpers prove two ings; one, that the murder was very un- rtain: the ſecond, that it would have been ry dangerous to diſprove the murder: enry being at leaſt as much intereſted as ichard had been to have the children dead. ichard had ſet them aſide as baſtards, and ence had a title to the crown; but Henry as himſelf the iſſue of a baſtard line, and d no title at all. Faction had ſet him on e throne, and his match with the ſuppoſed ireſs of York induced the nation to wink at e defect in his own blood. The children Clarence and of the ducheſs of Suffolk ere living; ſo was the young duke of Buck- gham, legitimately ſprung from the young- ſon of Edward the Third; whereas Henry me of the ſpurious ſtock of John of Ghent. ambert Simnel appeared before Henry had d time to diſguſt the nation, as he did after- rds, by his tyranny, cruelty, and exac- ns. But what was moſt remarkable, the een dowager tampered in this plot. Is it be believed, that mere turbulence could in ear's time influence that woman to throw nation again into a civil war, and attempt dethrone her own daughter? And in fa- ur of whom? Of the iſſue of Clarence, om ſhe had contributed to have put to th, or in favour of an impoſtor? There is common ſenſe in the ſuppoſition. No; ſhe tainly knew or believed that Richard, her ond ſon, had eſcaped and was living, and s glad to overturn the uſurper without riſk- her child. The plot failed, and the queen dowager

dowager was ſhut up, where ſhe remained till her death, "in priſon,‖ poverty, and ſolitude." The king trumped up a ſilly accuſation of her having delivered her daughters out of ſanctuary to king Richard, "which proceeding," ſays the noble hiſtorian, "being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, makes it very probable there was ſome greater matter againſt her, which the king upon reaſon of policie, would not publiſh." How truth ſometimes eſcapes from the moſt courtly pen! What interpretation can be put on theſe words, but that the king found the queen dowager was privy to the eſcape or at leaſt exiſtence of her ſecond ſon, and ſecured her, leſt ſhe ſhould bear teſtimony to the truth, and foment inſurrections in his favour? Lord Bacon adds, "It is likewiſe no ſmall argument that *there was ſome ſecret in it*; for that the prieſt Simon himſelf (who ſet Lambert to work) after he was taken, was never brought to execution, no, not ſo much as to publicke triall, but was only ſhut up cloſe in a dungeon.

"For Lambert, the king would not take his life," continues Henry's biographer, "both out of magnanimitie" (a moſt proper picture of ſo mean a mind!) "and likewiſe out of wiſdom, thinking that if he ſuffered death he would be forgotten too ſoon, but being kept alive, he would be a continual ſpectacle, and a kind of remedy againſt the *like enchantments of people* in time to come." What! do lawful princes live in

‖ Lord Bacon.

in dread of a poſſibility of phantoms! Oh! no; but Henry knew what he had to fear; and he hoped by keeping up the memory of Simnel's impoſture, to diſcredit the true duke of York, as another puppet, when ever he ſhould really appear.

That appearance did not happen till ſome years afterwards, and in Henry's eleventh year. Lord Bacon had taken infinite pains to prove a ſecond impoſture; and yet owns, "that the king's manner of ſhewing things "by pieces and by darke lights, hath ſo "muffled it, that it hath left it almoſt a "myſterie to this day." What has he left a myſtery? and what did he try to muffle? Not the impoſture, but the truth. Had ſo politic a man any intereſt to leave the matter doubtful? Did he try to leave it ſo? On the contrary, his diligence to detect the impoſture was prodigious. Did he publiſh his narrative to obſcure or elucidate the tranſaction? Was it his manner to muffle any point that he could clear up, eſpecially when it behoved him to have it declared? When Lambert Simnel firſt perſonated the earl of Warwick, did not Henry exhibit that poor prince on a Sunday throughout all the principal ſtreets of London? Was he not conducted to Paul's croſs, and openly examined by the nobility? "which did in effect marre the pageant of "Ireland." Was not Lambert himſelf taken in Henry's ſervice, and kept in his court for the ſame purpoſe? In ſhort, what did Henry ever muffle and diſguiſe but the truth? and why was his whole conduct ſo different

in the caſes of Lambert and Perkin, if their caſes were not totally different? No doubt remains on the former; the groſs falſhoods and contradictions in which Henry's account of the latter is involved, make it evident that he himſelf could never detect the impoſture of the latter, if it was one. Dates, which every hiſtorian has neglected, again come to our aid, and cannot be controverted.

Richard duke of York was born in 1474. Perkin Warbeck was not heard of before 1495, when duke Richard would have been Twenty-one. Margaret of York, dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy, and ſiſter of Edward the Fourth, is ſaid by lord Bacon to have been the Juno who perſecuted the pious Æneas, Henry, and ſet up his phantom againſt him. She it was, ſays lord Bacon, p. 115, "who informed Perkin of all the par-
"ticulars that concerned the perſon of Rich-
"ard duke of York, which he was to act,
"deſcribing unto him the perſonages, linea-
"ments, and features of the king and queen,
"his pretended parents, and of his brother and
"ſiſters, and divers others that were neareſt
"him in his childhood; together with all
"paſſages, ſome ſecret, ſome common, that
"were fit for a child's memory, until the
"death of king Edward. Then ſhe added
"the particulars of the time, from the king's
"death, until he and his brother were com-
"mitted to the Tower, as well during the
"time he was abroad, as while he was in
"ſanctuary. As for the times while he was
"in the Tower, and the manner of his bro-
"ther's

" ther's death, and his own eſcape, ſhe knew " they were things that verie few could con- " trole: and therefore ſhe taught him only " to tell a ſmooth and likely tale of thoſe " matters, warning him not to vary from it." Indeed! Margaret muſt in truth have been a Juno, a divine power, if ſhe could give all theſe inſtructions to purpoſe. This paſſage is ſo very important, the whole ſtory depends ſo much upon it, that if I can ſhow the utter impoſſibility of its being true, Perkin will remain the true duke of York for any thing we can prove to the contrary; and for Henry, Sir Thomas More, lord Bacon, and their copyiſts, it will be impoſſible to give any longer credit to their narratives.

I have ſaid that duke Richard was born in 1474. Unfortunately his aunt Margaret was married out of England in 1467, ſeven years before he was born, and never returned thither. Was not ſhe ſingularly capable of deſcribing to Perkin, her nephew, whom ſhe had never ſeen? How well informed was ſhe of the times of his childhood and of all paſſages relating to his brother and ſiſters! Oh! but ſhe had Engliſh refugees about her. She muſt have had many, and thoſe of moſt intimate connection with the court, if ſhe and they together could compoſe a tolerable ſtory for Perkin, that was to take in the moſt minute paſſages of ſo many years. Who informed Margaret, that ſhe might inform Perkin, of what paſſed in ſanctuary? Ay; and who told her what paſſed in the Tower? Let the warmeſt aſſerter of the impoſture anſwer that queſtion, and I will give up all I

have ſaid. Foreſt was dead, and the ſuppoſed prieſt; Sir James Tirrel and Dighton, were in Henry's hands. Had they trumpeted about the ſtory of their own guilt and infamy, till Henry, *after* Perkin's appearance, found it neceſſary to publiſh it? Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had certainly never gone to the court of Burgundy to make a merit with Margaret of having murdered her nephews. How came ſhe to know accurately and authentically a tale which no mortal elſe knew? Did Perkin or did he not correſpond in his narrative with Tirrel and Dighton! If he did, how was it poſſible for him to know it? If he did not, is it morally credible that Henry would not have made thoſe variations public? If Edward the Fifth was murdered, and the duke of York ſaved, Perkin could know it but by being the latter. If he did not know it, what was ſo obvious as his detection? We muſt allow Perkin to be the true duke of York, or give up the whole ſtory of Tirrel and Dighton. When Henry had Perkin, Tirrel, and Dighton in his power, he had nothing to do but to confront them, and the impoſture was detected. It would not have been ſufficient that Margaret had enjoined him *to tell a ſmooth and likely tale of thoſe matters.* A man does not tell a likely tale, nor was a *likely* tale enough, of matters of which he is totally ignorant.

Still farther: why was Perkin never confronted with the queen dowager, with Henry's own queen, and with the princeſſes, her ſiſters? Why were they never aſked, Is this your ſon?

Is

Is this your brother? Was Henry afraid to truſt to their natural emotion? Yet "he himſelf," ſays lord Bacon, p. 186, ſaw him "ſometimes out of a window, or in paſſage." This implies that the queens and princeſſes never did ſee him; and yet they ſurely were the perſons who could beſt detect the counterfeit, if he had been one. Had the young man a *voluntary*, coherent, and credible confeſſion, no other evidence of his impoſture would be wanted; but failing that, we cannot help aſking, Why the obvious means of detection were not employed? Thoſe means having been omitted, our ſuſpicions remain in full force.

Henry, who thus neglected every means of confounding the impoſtor, took every ſtep he would have done, if convinced that Perkin was the true duke of York. His utmoſt induſtry was exerted in ſifting to the bottom of the plot, in learning who was engaged in the conſpiracy, and in detaching the chief ſupporters. By his ſpies he came to the knowledge not of the impoſture, but of what rather tended to prove that Perkin was a genuine Plantagenet: I mean ſuch a liſt of great men actually in his court and in truſt about his perſon, that no wonder he was ſeriouſly alarmed. Sir Robert Clifford, who had fled to Margaret, wrote to England, that he was poſitive the claimant was the very identical duke of York, ſon of Edward the Fourth, whom he had ſo often ſeen, and was perfectly acquainted with. This man, Clifford, was bribed back to Henry's ſervice; and what was the conſequence? He

accuſed Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, the very man who had ſet the crown on Henry's head in Boſworth field, and own brother to the earl of Derby, the then actual huſband of Henry's mother, of being in the conſpiracy? This was indeed eſſential to Henry to know; but what did it proclaim to the nation? What could ſtagger the allegiance of ſuch, but the firm perſuaſion that Perkin was the true duke of York? A ſpirit of faction and diſguſt has even in later times hurried men into treaſonable combinations; but however Sir William Stanley might be diſſatisfied, as not thinking himſelf adequately rewarded, yet is it credible that he ſhould riſk ſuch favour, ſuch riches, as lord Bacon allows he poſſeſſed, on the wild bottom of a Flemiſh counterfeit? The lord Fitzwalter and other great men ſuffered in the ſame cauſe; and which is remarkable, the firſt was executed at Calais---another preſumption that Henry would not venture to have his evidence made public. And the ſtrongeſt preſumption of all is, that not one of the ſufferers is pretended to have recanted; they all died in the perſuaſion that they had engaged in a righteous cauſe. When peers, knights of the garter, privy councellors, ſuffer death, from conviction of a matter of which they were proper judges (for which of them but muſt know their late maſter's ſon?) it would be raſh indeed in us to affirm that they laid down their lives for an impoſture, and died with a lie in their mouths.

What

What can be ſaid againſt king James of Scotland, who beſtowed a lady of his own blood in marriage on Perkin? At war with Henry, James would naturally ſupport his rival, whether genuine or ſuppoſitious. He and Charles the Eighth both gave him aid and both gave him up, as the wind of their intereſt ſhifted about. Recent inſtances of ſuch conduct have been ſeen! but what prince has gone ſo far as to ſtake his belief in a doubtful cauſe, by ſacrificing a princeſs of his own blood in confirmation of it?

But it is needleſs to multiply preſumptions. Henry's conduct and the narrative he publiſhed, are ſufficient to ſtagger every impartial reader. Lord Bacon confeſſes *the king did himſelf no good* by the publication of that narrative, and that mankind was aſtoniſhed to find no mention in it of the dutcheſs Margaret's machinations. But how could lord Bacon ſtop there? Why did he not conjecture that there was no proof of that tale? What intereſt had Henry to manage a widow of Burgundy? He had applied to the archduke Philip to baniſh Perkin: Philip replied, he had no power over the lands of the dutcheſs's dowry. It is therefore moſt credible that the dutcheſs had ſupported Perkin, on the perſuaſion he was her nephew; and Henry not being able to prove the reports he had ſpread of her having trained up an impoſtor, choſe to drop all mention of Margaret, becauſe nothing was ſo natural as her ſupporting the heir of her own houſe. On the contrary, in Perkin's confeſſion, as it was called,

and which though preſerved by Grafton, was ſuppreſſed by lord Bacon, not only as repugnant to his lordſhip's account, but to common ſenſe. Perkin affirms, that "having "ſailed to Liſbon in a ſhip with the lady "Brampton, who lord Bacon ſays, was ſent "by Margaret to conduct him thither, and "from thence having reſorted to Ireland, it "was at Cork that they of the town firſt "threaped upon him that he was ſon of the "duke of Clarence; and others afterwards, "that he was the duke of York." But the contradictions both in lord Bacon's account, and in Henry's narrative, are irreconcileable and inſurmountable: the former ſolves the likeneſs†, which is allowing the likeneſs, of Perkin to Edward the Fourth, by ſuppoſing that the king had an intrigue with his mother; of which he gives this ſilly relation; that Perkin Warbeck, whoſe ſurname it ſeems was Peter Oſbeck, was ſon of a Flemiſh converted Jew (of which Hebrew extraction Perkin ſays not a word ‡ in his confeſſion) who with his wife Katherine de Faro came to London on buſineſs; and ſhe producing a ſon, king Edward,

† As this ſolution of the likeneſs is not authorized by the youth's ſuppoſed narrative, the likeneſs remains uncontrovertible, and conſequently another argument of his being king Edward's ſon.

‡ On the contrary, Perkin calls his grandfather Diryck Oſbeck; Diryck every body knows is Theodoric, and Theodoricis certainly no Jewiſh appellation. Perkin too mentions ſeveral of his relations and their employments at Tournay, without any hint or a Hebrew connexion.

Edward, in conſideration of the converſion, or intrigue, ſtood godfather to the child and gave him the name of *Peter*. Can one help laughing at being told that a king called *Edward* gave the name of *Peter* to his godſon? But of this transfretation and chriſtening Perkin, in his ſuppoſed confeſſion, ſays not a word, nor pretends to have ever ſet foot in England, till he landed there in purſuit of the crown; and yet an Engliſh birth and ſome ſtay, though in his very childhood, was a better way of acounting for the purity of his accent, than either of the prepoſterous tales produced by lord Bacon or by Henry. The former ſays, that Perkin, roving up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns, and living much in Engliſh company had the Engliſh tongue perfect. Henry was ſo afraid of not aſcertaining a good foundation of Perkin's Engliſh accent, that he makes him learn the language twice over. "Being ſent with a merchant of Turney, "called Berlo, to the mart of Antwerp, the "ſaid Berlo ſet me," ſays Perkin, "to borde "in a ſkinner's houſe, that dwelled beſide the "houſe of the Engliſh nation. And after "this the ſaid Berlo ſet me with a merchant "of Middleborough to ſervice for *to learn the* "*language*, with whom I dwelled from Chriſt-"mas to Eaſter, and when I went into Por-"tyngale." One does not learn any language very perfectly, and with a good, nay, undiſtinguiſhable accent, between Chriſtmas and Eaſter; but here let us pauſe. If this account was true, the other relating to the dutcheſs

Margaret was falſe; and then how came Perkin by ſo accurate a knowledge of the Engliſh court, that he did not faulter, nor could be detected in his tale? If the confeſſion was *not* true, it remains that it was trumped up by Henry, and then Perkin muſt be allowed the true duke of York.

But the groſs contradiction of all follows: "It was in Ireland," ſays Perkin, "in this "very narrative and confeſſion, that againſt "my will they made me to learne Engliſh, "and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay." Amazing! what, forced him to learn Engliſh, after, as he ſays himſelf in the very ſame page, he had learnt it at Antwerp? What an impudence was there in royal power to obtrude ſuch ſtuff on the world! Yet this confeſſion, as it is called, was the poor young man forced to read at his execution---no doubt in dread of worſe torture. Mr. Hume owns that it was believed to have been drawn from him by torture. What matters how it was obtained; it could not be true: and as Henry could put together no more plauſible account, commiſeration will ſhed a tear over a hapleſs youth, ſacrificed to the jealouſy of an uſurper, and in all probability the victim of a tyrant, who has made the world believe that the duke of York, executed by his own orders, had been previouſly murdered by his predeceſſor.

With regard to the perſon of Richard, it appears to have been as much miſrepreſented as his actions. The old counteſs of Deſmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was the handſomeſt man in the room,

room, except his brother Edward, and was very well made. And Dr. Shaw in his ſermon appealed to the people, whether Richard was not the expreſs image of his father's perſon, who was neither ugly nor deformed? Not all the protector's power could have kept the muſcles of the mob in awe and prevented their laughing at ſo ridiculous an apoſtrophe, had Richard been a little, crooked, withered, hump-back'd monſter, as later hiſtorians would have us believe.

The truth was this. Richard, who was ſlender and not tall, had one ſhoulder a little higher than the other: a defect, by the magnifying glaſſes of party, by diſtance of time, and by the amplification of tradition, eaſily ſwelled to ſhocking deformity; for falſhood itſelf generally pays ſo much reſpect to truth as to make it the baſis of its ſuperſtructures. Who can believe that an eye-witneſs, and ſo minute a painter, would have mentioned nothing but the inequality of ſhoulders, if Richard's form had been a compound of uglineſs? Could a Yorkiſt have drawn a leſs diſguſting repreſentation? And yet Rous was a vehement Lancaſtrian! and the moment he ceaſed to have truth before his eyes, gave into all the virulence and forgeries of his party, telling us in another place, "that "Richard remained two years in his mo-"ther's womb, and came forth at laſt with "teeth, and hair on his ſhoulders." I leave it to the learned in the profeſſion to decide whether women can go two years with their burden, and produce a living infant; but that

this long pregnancy did not prevent the dutcheſs, his mother, from bearing afterwards I can prove; and could we recover the regiſter of the births of her children, I ſhould not be ſurprized to find, that as ſhe was a very fruitful woman, there was not above a year between the birth of Richard and his preceding brother Thomas*. However, an ancient † bard, who wrote after Richard was born and during the life of his father, tells us,

Richard liveth yit, but the laſt of all
Was Urſula, to him whom God liſt call.

Be it as it will, this fooliſh tale, with the circumſtances of his being born with hair and teeth, was coined to intimate how careful Providence was, when it formed a tyrant, to give

* The author I am going to quote, gives us the order in which the dutcheſs Cecily's children were born, thus; Ann dutcheſs of Exeter, Henry, Edward the Fourth, Edmund earl of Rutland, Elizabeth dutcheſs of Suffolk, Margaret dutcheſs of Burgundy, William, John, George duke of Clarence, Thomas, Richard the Third, and Urſula. Cox, in his hiſtory of Ireland, ſays that Clarence was born in 1451. Buck computed Richard the Third to have fallen at the age of thirty-four or five; but by Cox's account, he could not be more than thirty-two. Still this makes it probable, that their mother bore them and their intervening brother Thomas as ſoon as ſhe well could, one after another.

† See Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Heraldry p. 623.

ive due warning of what was to be expected. And yet theſe portents were far from prognoſticating a tyrant; for this plain reaſon, hat all other tyrants have been born without heſe prognoſtics. Does it require more time o ripen a fœtus, that is to prove a deſtroyer, han it takes to form an Ariſtides? Are there utward and viſible ſigns of a bloody nature? Who was handſomer than Alexander, Auuſtus, or Louis the Fourteenth? and yet who ever commanded the ſpilling of more human blood?

Having mentioned John Rous, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſay ſomething more of him, s he lived in Richard's time, and even wrote is reign; and yet I have omitted him in the iſt of contemporary writers. The truth is, e was pointed out to me after the preceding heets were finiſhed; and upon inſpection I ound him too deſpicable and lying an auhor, even amongſt monkiſh authors, to venure to quote him, but for two facts; for the ne of which as he was an eye-witneſs, and for he other, as it was of public notoriety, he competent authority.

The firſt is his deſcription of the perſon of ichard; the ſecond, relating to the young arl of Warwick, I have recorded in its lace.

This John Rous, ſo early as in the reign f Edward the Fourth, had retired to the ermitage of Guy's Cliff, where he was a hantry prieſt, and where he ſpent the reaining part of his life in what he called tudying and writing antiquities. Amongſt other

other works, moſt of which are *not* unfortu-nately loſt, he compoſed a hiſtory of the king of England. It begins with the creation, and is compiled indiſcriminately from the Bible and from monaſtic writers. Moſes, he tells us, does not mention all the cities founded before the deluge, but Barnard de Breyden-back, dean of Mayence, does. With the ſame taſte he acquaints us, that, though the Book of Geneſis ſays nothing of the matter, Giraldus Cambrenſis writes, that Caphera or Ceſara, Noah's niece, being apprehenſive of the deluge, ſet out for Ireland, where, with three men and fifty women, ſhe arrived ſafe with one ſhip, the reſt periſhing in the general deſtruction.

A hiſtory, ſo happily begun, never falls off: propheſies, omens, judgments, and religious foundations compoſe the bulk of the book. The lives and actions of our monarchs, and the great events of their reigns, ſeemed to the author to deſerve little place in a hiſtory of England. To Richard he aſcribes the death of Henry the ſixth; and adds, that many perſons believed he executed the murder with his own hands: but he records another circumſtance that alone muſt weaken all ſuſpicion of Richard's guilt in that tranſaction. Richard not only cauſed the body to be removed from Chertſey, and ſolemnly interred at Windſor; but it was publicly expoſed, and, if we will believe the monk, was found almoſt entire, and emitted a gracious perfume, though no care had been taken to embalm it. Is it credible that Richard, if the murderer, would

hav

ave exhibited this unneceſſary mummery,
nly to revive the memory of his own guilt?
Vas it not rather intended to recall the cruelty
f his brother Edward, whoſe children he had
t aſide, and whom by the compariſon of this
t of piety, he hoped to depreciate in the
yes of the people? The very example had
een pointed out to him by Henry the Fifth,
ho beſtowed a pompous funeral on Richard
e Second, murdered by order of his father.
ut there is one circumſtance, which, beſides
e weakneſs and credulity of the man, renders
is teſtimony exceedingly ſuſpicious. After
aving ſaid, that, *if he may ſpeak truth in* Rich-
rd's *favour* §, he muſt own that, though ſmall
ſtature and ſtrength, Richard was a noble
night, and defended himſelf to the laſt breath
ith eminent valour, the monk ſuddenly turns
nd apoſtrophizes Henry the Seventh, to
hom he had dedicated his work, and whom
e flatters to the beſt of his poor abilities; but
bove all things, for having beſtowed the name
f Arthur on his eldeſt ſon, who, this injuicious and over-haſty prophet foreſees, will
eſtore the glory of his great anceſtor of the
me name. Had Henry chriſtened his ſecond
n Merlin, I do not doubt but poor Rous
ould have had ſtill more divine viſions about
Henry the Eighth, though born to ſhake half
ie pillars of credulity.

In ſhort, no reliance can be had on an
uthor of ſuch a frame of mind, ſo removed
from

§ Attamen ſi ad ejus honorem veritatem dicam,
. 218.

from the ſcene of action, and ſo devoted t the Welch intruder on the throne. Super added to this incapacity and defects, he ha prejudices or attachments of a private na ture: he had ſingular affection for the Beau champs, earls of Warwick, zealous Lancaſ trians, and had written their lives. One ca pital crime that he imputes to Richard is th impriſonment of his mother-in-law, An Beauchamp counteſs of Warwick, mother o his queen. It does ſeem that this great lad was very hardly treated; but I have ſhow from the Chronicle of Croyland, that it wa Edward the Fourth, not Richard, that ſtrip ped her of her poſſeſſions. She was widow too of that turbulent Warwick, the king maker; and Henry the Seventh bore witne that ſhe was faithfully loyal to Henry th Sixth. Still it ſeems extraordinary that th Queen did not or could not obtain the enlarge ment of her mother. When Henry the Se venth attained the crown, ſhe recovered he liberty and vaſt eſtates: yet, young as hi majeſty was, both in years and avarice, fo this munificence took place in his third year ſtill he gave evidence of the falſhood and ra pacity of his nature; for though by act o parliament he cancelled the former act tha had deprived her, *as againſt all reaſon, conſcience and courſe of nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man*†, and reſtored her poſſeſſions t her, this was but a farce, and like his wonte hypocriſy; for the very ſame year he obliged her to convey the whole eſtate to him leavin

† Vide Dugdale's Warwickſhire in Beauchamp.

eaving her nothing but the manor of Sut-
on for her maintenance. Richard had
narried her daughter; but what claim had
Henry to her inheritance? This attachment
f Rous to the houſe of Beauchamp, and the
edication of his work to Henry, would
nake his teſtimony moſt ſuſpicious, even if
e had guarded his work within the rules of
robability, and not rendered it a contempti-
le legend.

Every part of Richard's ſtory is involved
n obſcurity: we neither know what natural
hildren he had, nor what became of them.
andford ſays, he had a daughter called Ka-
herine, whom William Herbert earl of Hun-
ingdon covenanted to marry, and to make her
fair and ſufficient eſtate of certain of his
manors to the yearly value of 200l, over and
bove all charges. As this lord received a
confirmation of his title from Henry the
Seventh, no doubt the poor young lady would
have been ſacrificed to that intereſt. But
Dugdale ſeems to think ſhe died before the
nuptials were conſummated: "whether this
"marriage took effect or not I cannot ſay;
"for ſure it is that ſhe died in her tender
"years‡." Drake § affirms, that Richard
knighted at York a natural ſon called Richard
of Glouceſter, and ſuppoſes it to be the ſame
perſon of whom Peck has preſerved ſo extra-
ordinary an account‖. But never was a ſup-
poſition worſe grounded. The relation given
by

‡ Baronage, p. 258.
§ In his Hiſtory of York.
‖ See his Deſiderata Curioſa.

by the latter himſelf, was, that he never ſa
the king till the night before the battle o
Boſworth; and that the king had not the
acknowledged, but intended to acknowled
him, if victorious. The deep privacy
which this perſon had lived, demonſtrate
how ſeverely the perſecution had raged again
all that were connected with Richard, an
how little truth was to be expected from th
writers on the other ſide. Nor could Peck'
Richard Plantagenet be the ſame perſon wit
Richard of Glouceſter, for the former wa
never known till he diſcovered himſelf to Si
Thomas Moyle; and Hall ſays that kin
Richard's natural ſon was in the hands o
Henry the Seventh. Buck ſays, that Rich
ard made his ſon Richard of Glouceſter, Cap
tain of Calais; but it appears from Rymer'
Fœdera, that Richard's natural ſon, wh
was captain of Calais, was called John. Nor
of theſe accounts accord with Peck's; no
for want of knowing his mother, can we gue
why king Richard was more ſecret on th
birth of this ſon (if Peck's Richard Planta
genet was truly ſo) than on thoſe of his oth
natural children. Perhaps the trueſt remar
that can be made on this whole ſtory i
that the avidity with which our hiſtorian
ſwallowed one groſs ill-connected legend
prevented them from deſiring or daring t
ſift a ſingle part of it. If crumbs of truth
are mingled with it, at leaſt they are now un
diſtinguiſhable in ſuch a maſs of error and im
probability.

It is evident from the conduct of Shakeeare, that the houſe of Tudor retained all eir Lancaſtrian prejudices, even in the ign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of ichard the Third, he ſeems to deduce the oes of the houſe of York from the curſes hich queen Margaret had vented againſt em; and he could not give that weight to r curſes, without ſuppoſing a right in her utter them. This indeed is the authority hich I do not pretend to combat. Shakeeare's immortal ſcenes will exiſt, when ſuch oor arguments as mine are forgotten. Richrd at leaſt will be tried and executed on the age, when his defence remains on ſome obure ſhelf of a library. But while theſe ages may excite the curioſity of a day, it ay not be unentertaining to obſerve, that here is another of Shakeſpeare's plays that ay be ranked among the hiſtoric, though ot one of his numerous critics and commenator have diſcovered the drift of it; I mean *The Winter Evening's Tale*, which was certainly ntended (in compliment to queen Elizabeth) s an indirect apology for her mother Anne Boleyn. The addreſs of the poet appears no where to more advantage. The ſubject was oo delicate to be exhibited on the ſtage without a veil; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly, for the bard to have ventured ſo home an alluſion on any other ground than compliment. The unreaſonable jealouſy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in conſequence, from a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made the

the law the engine of his boiſterous paſſions. Not only the general plan of his ſtory is moſt applicable, but ſeveral paſſages are ſo marked, that they touch the real hiſtory nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial ſays,

> -------- for honour,
> 'Tis a derivative from me to mine,
> And only that I ſtand for.

This ſeems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, where ſhe pleads for the infant princeſs his daughter. Mamillius, the young prince, an unneceſſary character, dies in his infancy; but it confirms the alluſion, as queen Anne, before Elizabeth, bore a ſtill-born ſon. But the moſt ſtriking paſſage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina, deſcribing the new-born princeſs, and her likeneſs to her father, ſays, *ſhe has the very trick of his frown.* There is one ſentence indeed ſo applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I ſhould ſuſpect the poet inſerted it after her death. Paulina, ſpeaking of the child, tells the king,

> --------'tis yours;
> And might we lay the old proverb to your charge,
> So like you, 'tis the worſe.------

The winter Evening's Tale was therefore in reality a ſecond part of Henry the Eighth.

With

With regard to Jane Shore, I have alrea-
ſhown that it was her connection with
e marquis of Dorſet, not with lord Haſ-
ngs, which drew on her the reſentment of
ichard. When an event is thus wreſted
ſerve the purpoſe of a party, we ought to
very cautious how we truſt an hiſtorian,
ho is capable of employing truth only as
ment in a fabric of fiction. Sir Thomas
lore tells us, that Richard pretended Jane
was of councell with the lord Haſtings to
deſtroy him; and in concluſion, when no
colour could faſten upon theſe matters,
then he layd ſeriouſly to her charge what
ſhe could not deny," namely her adultery;
and for this cauſe, as a godly continent
prince, cleane and faultleſſe of himſelf,
ſent out of heaven into this vicious world
for the amendment of mens manners, he
cauſed the biſhop of London to put her to
open penance."

This ſarcaſm on Richard's morals would
ve had more weight, if the author had
fore confined himſelf to deliver nothing
t the preciſe truth. He does not ſeem to
more exact in what relates to the penance
elf. Richard, by his proclamation, taxed
ſtreſs Shore with plotting treaſon in confe-
racy with the marquis Dorſet. Conſe-
ently, it was not from defect of proof of
r being accomplice with lord Haſtings that
e was put to open penance. If Richard
d any hand in that ſentence, it was, becauſe
had proof of her plotting with the mar-
is. But I doubt, and with ſome reaſon,
whether

whether her penance was inflicted by Rich-
ard. We have ſeen that he acknowledge-
at leaſt two natural children; and Sir Tho-
mas More hints that Richard was far fro-
being remarkable for his chaſtity. Is it there-
fore probable, that he acted ſo ſilly a part
as to make his brother's miſtreſs do penance
Moſt of the charges on Richard are ſo idle
that inſtead of being an able and artful uſur-
per, as his antagoniſts allow, he muſt have
been a weaker hypocrite than ever attempt-
ed to wreſt a ſceptre out of the hands of
legal poſſeſſor.

It is more likely that the churchmen were
the authors of Jane's penance; and that
Richard, intereſted to manage that body
and provoked by her connection with ſo ca-
pital an enemy as Dorſet, might give her up
and permit the clergy (who probably had
burned incenſe to her in her proſperity) to re-
venge his quarrel. My reaſon for this opini-
on is grounded on a letter of Richard extan-
in the Muſeum, by which it appears that
the fair, unfortunate, and amiable Jane (fo
her virtues far outweighed her frailty) being
a priſoner, by Richard's order, in Ludgate
had captivated the king's ſolicitor, who
contracted to marry her. Here follows th
letter;

Harl. MSS, No. 237

By the KING.

"Right reverend fadre in God, &c. Sig-
"nifying unto you, that is ſhewed unt
"

us, that our ſervaunt and ſollicitor, Thomas Lynom, merveillouſly blinded and abuſed with the late (wife) of Willm Shore, now being in Ludgate by oure commandment, hath made contract of matrymony with hir (as it is ſaid) and entendith, to our full greate merveile, to procede to th'effect of the ſame. We for many cauſes would be ſorry that hee ſoo ſhoulde be diſpoſed. Pray you therefore to ſend for him, and in that ye goodly may, exhorte and ſture hym to the contrarye. And if ye fined him utterly set for to marye hur, and noen otherwiſe will be advertiſed, then (if it may ſtand with the lawe of the churche) We be content (the tyme of marriage deferred to our comyng next to London) that upon ſufficient ſuertie founde of hure good abering, ye doo ſend for hure keeper, and diſcharge him of our ſaid commandment by warrant of theſe, committing hur to the rule and guiding of hure fadre, or any othre by your diſcretion in the mene ſeaſon. Yeven, &c.

"To the right reverend fadre in God,
"&c. the biſhop of Lincoln, our
"chauncellour."

It appears from this letter, that Richard ought it indecent for his ſollicitor to marry woman who had ſuffered public puniſhent for adultery, and who was confined by is command---but where is the tyrant to be found

found in this paper? Or, what prince ever ſpoke of ſuch a ſcandal, and what is ſtronger, of ſuch contempt of his authority, with ſo much lenity and temper? He enjoins his chancellor to diſſuade the ſollicitor from the match----but ſhould he perſiſt----a tyrant would have ordered the ſollicitor to priſon too---but Richard---Richard, if his ſervant will not be diſſuaded, allows the match; and in the mean time commits Jane---to whoſe cuſtody?---Her own Father's. I cannot help thinking that ſome holy perſon had been her perſecutor, and not ſo patient and gentle a king. And I believe ſo, becauſe of the ſalvo for the church: "Let them be married," ſays Richard, "if it may ſtand with the lawe "of the churche."

From the propoſed marriage, one ſhould at firſt conclude that Shore, the former huſband of Jane was dead; but by the king's query, whether the marriage would be lawful? and by her being called in the letter *the late wife of William Shore*, not *of the late William Shore*, I ſhould ſuppoſe that her huſband was living, and that the penance itſelf was the conſequence of a ſuit preferred by him to the eccleſiaſtic court for divorce. If the injured huſband ventured, on the death of Edward the Fourth, to petition to be ſeparated from his wife, it was natural enough for the church to proceed farther, and enjoin her to perform penance, eſpecially when they fell in with the king's reſentment to her.

I have thus gone through the ſeveral accuſations againſt Richard; and have ſhewn that

they

they reſt on the ſlighteſt ground, if they reſt on any at all. I have proved that they ought to be reduced to the ſole authorities of Sir Thomas More and Henry the Seventh; the latter intereſted to blacken every action of Richard; and driven to father on him even his own crimes. I have proved that More's account cannot be true. I have ſhewn that the writers, contemporary with Richard, either do not accuſe him, or give their accuſations as mere vague and uncertain reports: and what is as ſtrong, the writers next in date, and who wrote the earlieſt after the events are ſaid to have happened, aſſert little or nothing from their own information, but adopt the very words of Sir Thomas More, who was abſolutely miſtaken.

It ſeems then to appear,

That we have no authors, who lived near the time, but Lancaſtrian authors, who wrote to flatter Henry the Seventh, or who ſpread the tales which he invented.

That the murder of prince Edward, ſon of Henry the Sixth, was committed by king Edward's ſervants, and is imputed to Richard by no contemporary.

That Henry the Sixth was found dead in the Tower; that it was not known how he came by his death; and that it was againſt Richard's intereſt to murder him.

That the duke of Clarence was defended by Richard; that the parliament petitioned for his execution; that no author of the time is

ſo abſurd as to charge Richard with being the executioner; and that king Edward took the deed wholly on himſelf.

That Richard's ſtay at York on his brother's death had no appearance of a deſign to make himſelf king.

That the ambition of the queen, who attempted to uſurp the government, contrary to the then eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the realm, gave the firſt provocation to Richard and the princes of the blood to aſſert their rights; and that Richard was ſollicited by the duke of Buckingham to vindicate thoſe rights.

That the preparation of an armed force under earl Rivers, the ſeizure of a Tower and treaſure, and the equipment of a fleet, by the marquis of Dorſet gave occaſion to the princes to impriſon the relations of the queen: and that, though they were put to death without trial, it was conſonant to the manners of that barbarous and turbulent age, and not till after the queen's party had taken up arms.

That the execution of lord Haſtings, who had firſt engaged with Richard againſt the queen, and whom Sir Thomas More confeſſes Richard was *lothe to loſe*, can be accounted for by nothing but abſolute neceſſity, and the law of ſelf-defence.

That Richard's aſſumption of the protectorate was in every reſpect agreeable to the laws and uſage; was beſtowed on him by the univerſal conſent of the council and peers, and was a ſtrong indication that he had then no thought of queſtioning the right of his nephew.

That

That the tale of Richard aſperſing the chaſtity of his own mother is incredible; it appearing that he lived with her in perfect harmony, and lodged in her palace at that very time.

That it is as little credible that Richard gained the crown by a ſermon of Dr. Shaw, and a ſpeech of the duke of Buckingham, if the people only laughed at thoſe orators.

That there had been a precontract or marriage between Edward the Fourth and lady Eleanor Talbot; and that Richard's claim to the crown was founded on the illegitimacy of Edward's children.

That a convention of the nobility, clergy, and people invited him to accept the crown on that title.

That the enſuing parliament ratified the act of the convention, and confirmed the baſtardy of Edward's children.

That nothing can be more improbable than Richard's having taken no meaſures before he left London, to have his nephews murdered, if he had had any ſuch intention.

That the ſtory of Sir James Tirrel, as related by Sir Thomas More, is a notorious falſhood; Sir James Tirrel being at that time maſter of the horſe, in which capacity he had walked at Richard's coronation.

That Tirrel's jealouſy of Sir Richard Ratcliffe is another palpable falſhood; Tirrel being already preferred, and Ratcliffe abſent.

That all that relates to Sir Robert Brakenbury is no leſs falſe: Brakenbury either being too good a man to die for a tyrant or murderer, or too bad a man to have refuſed being his accomplice.

That Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon both confeſs, many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not; and it certainly never was proved, that they were murdered by Richard's order.

That Sir Thomas More relied on nameleſs authority; that it appears by dates and facts, his authorities were bad and falſe; that if Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had really committed the murder and confeſſed it, and if Perkin Warbeck had made a voluntary, clear, and probable confeſſion of his impoſture, there could have remained no doubt of the murder.

That Sir James Tirrel not being attainted on the death of Richard, but having, on the contrary, been employed in great ſervices by Henry the Seventh, it is not probable that he was one of the murderers. The lord Bacon, owning, Tirrel's confeſſion did not pleaſe the king ſo well as Dighton's; that Tirrel's impriſonment and execution ſome years afterwards for a new treaſon, of which we have no evidence, deſtroy all probability of his guilt in the ſuppoſed murder of the children.

That the impunity of Dighton, can only be accounted for on the ſuppoſition of his being a falſe witneſs to ſerve Henry's cauſe againſt Perkin Warbeck.

That the ſilence of the two archbiſhops, and Henry's not daring to ſpecify the murder of the princes in the act of attainder againſt Richard, wears all the appearance of their not having been murdered.

That Richard's kindneſs to the earl of Warwick, proceeding ſo far as to proclaim him his ſucceſſor, betrays no ſymptom of that cruel nature, which would not ſtick at aſſaſſinating a competitor.

his

That it is indubitable, Richard's firſt idea was to keep the crown only till Edward the Fifth ſhould attain the age of twenty-four.

That with this view he did *not* create his own ſon prince of Wales till after he had proved the baſtardy of his brother's children.

That there is no proof that thoſe children were murdered.

That Richard made his nephew Edward the Fifth walk at his coronation.

That there is ſtrong preſumption from the parliament-roll and from the chronicle of Croyland, that both princes were living ſome time after Sir Thomas More fixes the date of their deaths.

That when his own ſon was dead, Richard was ſo far from intending to get rid of his wife, that he proclaimed his nephews, firſt the earl of Warwick, and then the earl of Lincoln, his heirs apparent.

That there is not the leaſt probability of his having poiſoned his wife, who died of a languiſhing diſtemper: that no proof was ever pretended to be given of it; that a bare ſuppoſition of ſuch a crime, without proof, is not to be credited.

That he ſeems to have had no intention of marrying his niece, but to have amuſed her with the hopes of that match, to prevent her marrying Richmond.

That it is probable the queen-dowager knew her ſecond ſon was living, and connived at the appearance of Lambert Simnel, to feel the temper of the nation.

That Henry the Seventh thought ſhe and the earl of Lincoln were privy to the exiſtence of Richard duke of York, and that Henry lived in terror of his appearance.

That the different conduct of Henry with regard to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, implies how different an opinion he had of them; that, in the firſt caſe, he uſed the moſt rational methods to prove him an impoſtor; whereas his whole behaviour in Perkin's caſe was myſterious, and betray'd his belief that Warbeck was the true duke of York.

That it was impoſſible for the dutcheſs of Burgundy at the diſtance of twenty-ſeven years to inſtruct a Flemiſh lad ſo perfectly in all that had paſſed in the court of England, but that he would not have been detected in few hours.

That ſhe could not inform him, nor could he know, what had paſſed in the Tower, unleſs he was the true duke of York.

That if he was not the true duke of York, Henry had nothing to do but to confront him with Tirrel and Dighton, and the impoſture muſt have been diſcovered.

That Perkin, never being confronted with the queen-dowager, and the princeſſes her daughters, proves that Henry did not dare to truſt to their acknowledging him.

That if he was not the true duke of York, he might have been detected by not knowing the queens and princeſſes, if ſhown to him without his being told who they were.

That it is not pretended that Perkin ever failed in language, accent, or circumſtances and that his likeneſs to Edward the Fourth is allowed.

That there are groſs and manifeſt blunders in his pretended confeſſion.

That

That Henry was ſo afraid of not aſcertaining a good account of the purity of his Engliſh accent, that he makes him learn Engliſh twice over.

That Lord Bacon did not dare to adhere to this ridiculous account; but forges another, though in reality, not much more credible.

That a number of Henry's beſt friends, as the Lord chamberlain, who placed the crown on his head, knights of the garter, and men of the faireſt characters, being perſuaded that Perkin was the true duke of York, and dying for that belief, without recanting, make it very raſh to deny that he was ſo.

That the proclamation in Rymer's Fœdera againſt Jane Shore, for plotting with the marquis of Dorſet, not with Lord Haſtings, deſtroys all the credit of Sir Thomas More, as to what relates to the latter peer.

In ſhort, that Henry's character, as we have received it from his own apologiſts, is ſo much worſe and more hateful than Richard's, that we may well believe Henry invented and propagated by far the greater part of the ſlanders againſt Richard: that Henry, not Richard, put to death the true duke of York, as he did the earl of Warwick: and that we are not certain whether Edward the fifth was murdered; nor, if he was, by whoſe order he was murdered.

After all that has been ſaid, it is ſcarce neceſſary to add a word on the ſuppoſed diſcovery that was made of the ſkeletons of the two young princes, in the reign of Charles the ſecond. Two ſkeletons found in that

dark abyſs of ſo many ſecret tranſactions, with no marks to aſcertain the time, the age of their interment, can certainly verify nothing. We muſt believe both princes died there, before we can believe that their bones were found there: and upon what that belief can be founded, or how we ſhall ceaſe to doubt whether Perkin Warbeek was not one of thoſe children, I am at a loſs to gueſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

HENRY VII.

*AFTER having preſented the reader with a frightful train of treaſons, ſtratagems, murders, and uſurpations, we are now beginning to emerge. We are to behold a nation of tumult reduced to civil ſubordination; an inſolent and factious ariſtocracy humbled, wiſe laws enacted, commerce reſtored, and the peaceful arts made amiable to a people, for whom war alone heretofore had charms. Hitherto we have only beheld the actions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice; but henceforward we may diſcover more refined politics, and better concerted ſchemes; uſed to ſubdue the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce permanent felicity.

Henry's firſt care was to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth; and thus he blended the intereſts of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ſo that ever after they were incapable of diſtinction. But he always treated her with the utmoſt coldneſs and indifference, as he had a fixt averſion to the whole family. Indeed when ſhe bore him a ſon, the people hoped, he would

* A. D. 1485.

have ſome affection for her. But when they perceived, he neither loved her nor any one, that his diſpoſition was baſe and ſordid, and that his temper was ſour, ſullen, and reſerved, they thought they had made a bad exchange for Richard.

A great part of the miſeries of his predeceſſors proceeded from their poverty. Henry ſaw that money alone could turn the ſcale of power in his favour; and therefore hoarded up all the confiſcations of his enemies with the utmoſt frugality. He gave away very few rewards to his courtiers; and none except the needy ſhared his benefactions. He releaſed all priſoners for debt in his dominions, whoſe debts did not amount to forty ſhillings, and paid their creditors from the royal coffers. Thus his œconomy rendered him not only uſeful to the poor, but enabled him to be juſt to his own creditors. Thoſe ſums which he borrowed from any of his ſubjects, he repaid at the appointed day with the utmoſt punctuality.

With regard to the king's ſervants, he was himſelf the only prime miniſter; and as for the reſt, he did not chuſe his under-agents from among the nobility, as had been uſual; but pitched upon John Morton, and Richard Fox, two clergymen, perſons of induſtry, vigilance, and capacity, to whom he confided his ſecret councils. They had ſhared with him in all his former dangers and diſtreſſes; and he now took care that they ſhould participate in his good fortune; the one being ſoon after created biſhop of Ely, the other biſhop of Exeter.

Imme-

† Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he iſſued a general pardon to all ſuch as choſe to accept it; but thoſe lords who had been long accuſtomed to turbulence, refuſed it, and flew to arms. Lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, placed themſelves at the head of this inſurrection; but Henry ſent the duke of Bedford to oppoſe them, with orders to try what might be done by offering a pardon, before he made any attempts to reduce them. The duke obeyed his inſtructions; and a general promiſe of pardon was made to the rebels. On this, Lovel was ſo terrified with the fears of deſertion among his troops, that he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf; and made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutcheſs of Burgundy. The Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but it appearing that this church had not the privilege of giving protection, they were taken thence; the eldeſt Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger obtained his pardon. The rebel army now without a leader ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, and were permitted to diſperſe without farther puniſhment.

But one rebellion ſeemed extinguiſhed only to give riſe to another. The king, in the beginning of his reign, had given orders that Edward earl of Warwick, ſon of the duke of Clarence, ſhould be taken from Sheriff-Hutton, where he had been placed by Richard, and brought to the Tower. Meantime there lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a prieſt, who

† A. D. 148[illegible]

who trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, to counterfeit the perſon of the earl of Warwick; and he was previouſly inſtructed by his tutor to talk upon many facts and occurrences, as happening to him in the court of Edward. But as the impoſture was not calculated to bear a cloſe inſpection, it was thought proper to ſhew him firſt at a diſtance; and Ireland was judged the fitteſt theatre for him to ſupport his aſſumed character. The plot unfolded to their wiſhes; Simnel was received with the utmoſt joy, and proclaimed king of Ireland; he was conducted by the magiſtrates and the populace of Dublin with great pomp to the caſtle, where he was treated conformably to his ſuppoſed birth and diſtinction.

Henry ſeemed to feel uneaſineſs at this barefaced impoſture. He pretended his mother-in-law was at the bottom of it; and on this pretext confined her to a monaſtery, and ſeized on her whole eſtate and effects. The people murmured at the ſeverity of her treatment; but the king perſiſted in his reſolution; and ſhe remained in confinement till her death, which did not happen till ſeveral years after. The next meaſure was to ſhew Warwick to the people. In conſequence of this, he was taken from the Tower, and led through the principal ſtreets of London, after which he was conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, where great numbers were aſſembled to ſee him. Still, however, they proceeded in Dublin to honour their pretended monarch; and he was crowned with great ſolemnity, in preſence

preſence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the other officers of ſtate. ‡ Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel, and one or two lords more of the diſcontented party, reſolved to paſs over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancaſhire, from whence he marched to York, expecting the country would riſe and join him as he marched along. But in this he was deceived; the people kept in awe by the king, remained in tranquility. The earl of Lincoln therefore, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, finding no hopes but in ſpeedy victory, was determined to bring the conteſt to a ſhort iſſue. The oppoſite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody, and more obſtinately diſputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king. Lord Lincoln periſhed in the field of battle; lord Lovel was never more heard of, and it was ſuppoſed he ſhared the ſame fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken priſoner; and four thouſand of the common men fell in battle. Simon was only committed to cloſe confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears; he was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which employment he died.

About this time the nobles of Brittany, being diſguſted with their miniſter, Peter Landais, roſe againſt him, and put him to death. Willing

‡ A. D. 1487.

* Willing to defend one crime by another, they called in the aid of the French monarch, to protect them from the reſentment of their own ſovereign. The French monarch quickly obeyed the call; but inſtead of only bringing the nobles aſſiſtance, over-ran and took poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the country. The aid of Henry was implored by the diſtreſſed Bretons; who appeared more willing to aſſiſt them by negociations than by arms; but though he determined to maintain a pacific conduct, he knew the diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and their deſires to engage in any ſcheme that promiſed the humiliation of France. He reſolved, therefore, to take advantage of this propenſity; and to draw money from the people, on this pretence. He accordingly ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, and eaſily perſuaded them to grant him a conſiderable ſupply. But money was, at that time, more eaſily granted than levied in England. A new inſurrection began in Yorkſhire, the people reſiſting the commiſſioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, flew to arms, attacked his houſe, and put him to death. The mutineers did not ſtop there; but, by the advice of one John Achamber, a ſeditious fellow of mean birth, they choſe Sir John Egerton for their leader, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous reſiſtance. The king, immediately levied a force, which he put under the earl of Surry; who encountering the rebels

* A. D. 1488.

rebels, diſſipated the tumult, and took their leader, Achamber, priſoner. Achamber was ſhortly after executed; but Sir John Egerton fled to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, the uſual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

As Henry had gone thus far in preparations for a war with France, he ſuppoſed that it would be too flagrant an impoſition upon the credulity of the nation, not to put a part of his threats in execution. France was by this time poſſeſſed of all Brittany: and a marriage had been concluded between the French monarch, and the dutcheſs of Brittany. This acceſſion of power, in a rival ſtate, was formidable not only to Henry, but to Europe. He, therefore, prepared to make a deſcent upon France; and accordingly landed at Calais, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. But notwithſtanding this appearance of an hoſtile diſpoſition, there had been ſecret advances made towards a peace three months before, and commiſſioners had been appointed to treat on the terms. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable poſſeſſion of Brittany an equivalent for any ſum, readily agreed to the propoſals made him. He engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, as a reimburſement for the expences of his expedition; and he ſtipulated to pay a yearly penſion to him, and his heirs, of twenty-five thouſand crowns more.

Henry

† Henry, having thus made an advantageous peace, had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the proſpect of long tranquility; but he was miſtaken; he had ſtill enemies who found means to embroil him in freſh difficulties. ‡ A report was ſpread, that the young duke of York, ſaid to have been murdered in the Tower, was ſtill living; and a young man aſſumed his name and character. His graceful air, his courtly addreſs, his eaſy manners, and elegant converſation, were capable of impoſing upon all but ſuch as were conſcious of the impoſture.

§ The kingdom of Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachments to the houſe of York, was pitched upon as the proper place for his firſt appearance. He landed at Corke; and under the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him numerous partizans. He wrote letters to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he diſperſed every where the ſtrange intelligence of his eſcape; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general ſubject of their diſcourſe, and the object of their favour. From Ireland his fame ſoon ſpread into France; and Charles ſent him an invitation to his court, where he received him with all the marks of conſideration that were due to his ſuppoſed dignity. The youth, no way dazzled

† A. D. 1492. § A. D. 1493.

‡ This whole matter is uſually miſrepreſented. There is little doubt, but he was the real duke of York.

azzled by his elevation, ſupported the pre-
oſſeſſion which was ſpread in his favour; ſo
hat England itſelf ſoon began to give credit
o his pretenſions; while Sir George Neville,
ir John Taylor, and above a hundred gen-
lemen more, went to Paris to pay him ho-
nage, and offer their ſervices. Upon the
eace being ſhortly after concluded between
rance and England, he was obliged to make
is reſidence at the court of his old patroneſs
he dutcheſs of Burgundy. † She ſeemed to
xamine all his aſſertions with the moſt ſcru-
ulous diffidence; put many particular queſ-
ions to him, and at laſt, after long and ſe-
ere ſcrutiny, burſt out into joy and admira-
ion at his delivery, acknowledging him as
er nephew, as the true image of Edward,
nd legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne.
he immediately aſſigned him a ſuitable equi-
age, appointed him a guard of thirty halber-
iers: and on all occaſions honoured him
ith the appellation of the White Roſe of
ngland.

|| The Engliſh gave credit to all this;
hile the young man's prudence, converſation,
nd deportment, ſerved to confirm what their
iſaffection and credulity had begun. All
uch as were diſguſted with the king, prepared
o join him; but particularly thoſe that were
ormerly Henry's favourites, and had contri-
uted to place him on the throne; either
hinking their ſervices not ſufficiently repaid,
r rather being convinced, that he was the real
uke, became heads of the conſpiracy.

Among

|| A. D. 1494.

† She certainly did ſo examine them.

Among thoſe who ſecretly abetted his cauſe were lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaits, and Sir Robert Clifford. But the perſon of the greateſt weight, was Sir William Stanley the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley, who had, in effect, placed Henry on the throne. He entered into a regular conſpiracy againſt the king; § and a correſpondence was ſettled between the malecontents in England and thoſe in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on, Henry was not inattentive to the deſigns of his enemies. He ſpared neither labour nor expence. He diſperſed his ſpies thro' all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, ſome of thoſe whom he knew to be in the oppoſite intereſt. Among theſe, Sir Robert Clifford was the moſt remarkable, both for his conſequence, and the confidence with which he was truſted. From this perſon Henry learned the names of all thoſe who had ſecretly combined to aſſiſt Perkin Warbeck: ſo he was afterwards conſtrained to call himſelf. * And almoſt at the ſame inſtant, he arreſted Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaits, together with William Daubeny, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſtwood. All theſe were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treaſon. Mountfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeny, were immediately executed.

* A. D. 1495.

§ Undoubtedly he acted from a principle of conſcience.

ecuted; the reſt received pardon. But the incipal delinquent yet remained to be puniſh-. To effect this, Clifford was directed to come er privately to England, and to accuſe anley in perſon, which he did to the ſeem- g aſtoniſhment of all preſent. Henry af- cted to receive the intelligence as incredi- le; but Clifford perſiſting in his accuſation, anley was committed to cuſtody, and ſoon ter examined before the council. Finding is guilt clearly proved, he did not attempt conceal it, probably truſting to his former rvices for pardon. In this he was miſtaken; ter a delay of ſix weeks, during which time e king affected to deliberate, he was brought trial, when he was condemned, and ſhortly ter beheaded. An admirable providence! o he received a juſt reward for betraying his rmer maſter! And (to make the hand of od more manifeſt) from the very man to hom he and his brother betrayed him.

‡ Perkin himſelf now attempted landing in ent; but the gentlemen of the county ga- ered in a body to meet him. Their aim as to allure him on ſhore, and then ſeize his erſon; but the wary youth, obſerving that ey had more order and regularity in their ovements than could be ſuppoſed in new vied forces, refuſed to commit himſelf into eir hands: wherefore they ſet upon his at- ndants, who had come a-ſhore, of whom ey took an hundred and fifty priſoners. Theſe were tried and condemned, and all of em executed by order of the king: an in- ance of ſavage cruelty ſeldom to be parallel- ed.

The

§ A. D. 1495.

The young adventurer finding his hope fruſtrated here, went next to try his fortune in Scotland. James the fourth, received him with great cordiality; believed his ſtory, and carried his confidence ſo far, as to give him in marriage lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, and a near kinſwoman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. † But not content with this, he reſolved to attempt ſetting him on the throne of England. It was naturally expected that upon Perkin's firſt appearance in the kingdom, all the friends of the houſe of York would riſe in his favour. ‡ Upon this ground the king of Scotland entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young adventurer wherever he went. But contrary to expectation, none were found to ſecond his pretenſions. Being diſappointed in this, he once more returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to reſide, till, upon the concluſion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms he was obliged to leave Scotland.

|| In the mean time, Henry found little uneaſineſs at Perkin's irruption, as it ſerved him as a pretext to demand further ſupplies from parliament. The vote was eaſily obtained, but he found it not ſo eaſy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the firſt to refuſe. Their diſcontents were further inflamed by one Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had long been the ſpokeſman of the multitude.

‡ A. D. 1496. † A. D. 1497.

† It is utterly incredible, that the king would have done this, had he not been fully aſſured, that he was no impoſtor.

ultitude. To him was joined one Thomas lammock, a lawyer; and under the conduct f theſe two, the inſurgents paſſed through the ounty of Devon, and reached that of Somer-t, where they were joined by lord Audley, nobleman of an ancient family. Thus eaded, they marched with great ſpeed towards ondon, without committing any devaſtations y the way. At length, they pitched their amp near Eltham, eight miles from London. lenry had troops ready: but as the inſurgents ehaved in an inoffenſive manner, he protrac-d his attack for ſome time, till at length it as begun by lord Daubeny, who, after ſome eſiſtance, broke, and put them to flight. ord Audley, Flammock, and Joſeph, their eaders, were taken and executed; the reſt ere ſuffered to diſperſe.

In the mean time, Perkin being diſmiſſed cotland, once more took refuge in Ireland. Here he held a conſultation with his friends; nd by their advice reſolved to try the affecti-ns of the Corniſh men. They were riſen gain, and had ſent for Perkin to put himſelf t their head. † He no ſooner made his ap-earance at Bodmin in Cornwall, than three houſand men flocked to his ſtandard. He ow took on him, for the firſt time, the title f Richard the Fourth, king of England; and ot to ſuffer the ſpirits of his adherents to lan-uiſh, he led them to the gates of Exeter: ut the inhabitants were obſtinate in refuſing o admit him, and he was unprovided with rtillery to force an entrance. In the mean ime, the lords Daubeny and Broke, the earl of

† A. D. 1498.

of Devonſhire, and the duke of Buckingham all appeared at the head of their reſpective forces, and ſeemed eager for an opportunity of diſplaying their loyalty.

Perkin being informed of theſe great preparations broke up the ſiege of Exeter, retired to Taunton; and ſoon after took ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Beaulieu, in the New Foreſt. His adherents were left to the king's mercy, and only a few of the ring-leaders were treated with capital ſeverity. The lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated by him with all the lenity due to her ſex and quality. She was placed in a reputable ſtation near the perſon of the queen, and aſſigned a penſion which ſhe enjoyed till her death. Henry then employed ſome perſons to treat with Perkin and to perſuade him, under promiſe of a pardon, to deliver himſelf up. He embraced the king's offers; and Henry being deſirous of ſeeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the ſtreets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidſt the deriſion and inſults of the populace, which he bore without the leaſt emotion: he was then compelled to ſign a confeſſion of his former life, which was printed and diſperſed throughout the nation; but it was ſo lame, defective and contradictory, that inſtead of explaining the pretended impoſture, it left it more doubtful than before. However, though his life was granted him, he was ſtill detained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. But in a while he eſcaped thence

‡ Undoubtedly drawn up by Henry.

nd flying to the ſanctuary of Shyne*, put imſelf in the hands of the prior of that moaſtery. He was again prevailed to truſt imſelf to the king's mercy; who ordered im to be ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter nd Cheapſide, and obliged to read aloud, in oth places, the confeſſion which had been rmerly publiſhed in his name. From this lace of ſcorn, he was re-conveyed to the ower, where not long after he found means o open a correſpondence with the unfortunate Varwick, who had been confined there for any years before, and kept in a ſtate of tter ignorance. In all probability Perkin as permited to enter into this correſpondence ith him by the connivance of the king, ho hoped that he would engage the ſimple Varwick in ſome project that would furniſh pretext for taking away their lives, which cordingly happened. It was ſaid † Perkin mpered with the ſervants, to let them make eir eſcape to ſome ſecure part of the kingm.

This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin, d the earl of Warwick; the former of om was tried at Weſtminſter; and on the idence of the ſervants of the Tower, hang- at Tyburn with John Walter, mayor of rke, who had conſtantly adhered to his uſe in all the viciſſitudes of his fortune. ewet and Aſtwood, two of the ſervants, derwent the ſame fate. In a few days af- Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of arwick was tried by his peers; and being convicted

* A. D. 1499.

† "It was ſaid"—Let them that can, believe it!

convicted of high-treason*, in consequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was be-headed on Tower-hill, and in him ended the last male branch of the house of Plantagenet. The deplorable end of this innocent noble-man, and the fate of Perkin, who notwith-standing all that appeared against him, was by the unprejudiced part of the nation, deem-ed the real son of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with such aversion to Henry that to throw the odium from himself, he was obliged to lay it to the account of his ally Ferdinand of Arragon, who he said scrupled his alliance, while any prince of the house of York remained alive.

In the latter end of the year, the king's palace at Sheen was burnt down, which he rebuilt and named it Richmond. Henry the Eighth afterward gave it to Cardinal Wolsey in exchange for Hampton Court.

Meantime he had two points principally in view; one to depress the nobility and clergy, and the other to raise the populace. From the ambition and turbulence of the former, and from the wretchedness and credulity of the latter, all the troubles in the former reign had taken their original. In the feudal times every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of subjects, over whom he had an absolute power; and therefore, upon every slight disgust, he could influence them to join him in his revolt. Henry, therefore, wisely considered, that the giving these petty tyrants pow-

* For what? For endeavouring (if he really so) to escape from an unjust confinement!

power of ſelling their eſtates, which before his time were unalienable, would greatly weaken their intereſt. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were granted a power of diſpoſing of their eſtates; a law infinitely pleaſing to the commons, and not diſagreeable even to the nobles, ſince they had thus an immediate reſource for ſupplying their prodigality, and anſwering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their poſterity alone; but they were not affected by ſuch diſtant diſtreſſes.

His next ſcheme was to prevent their giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependents, who were thus retained like a ſtanding army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By an act paſſed in this reign, none but menial ſervants were permitted to wear a livery under ſevere penalties; and this law was enforced with the moſt punctual obſervance. The king one day paying a viſit to the earl of Oxford, was entertained by him with all poſſible ſplendour. When he was ready to depart, he ſaw ranged upon both ſides a great number of men dreſſed up in very rich liveries. The king aſked lord Oxford whether he entertained ſuch a large number of domeſtics; to which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the queſtion replied, that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon ſuch occaſions. At this the king ſtarted back, and ſaid, "By my faith, my lord, I thank 'you for your good cheer; but I muſt not 'have the laws broken before my face; my 'attorney-general muſt talk with you.'

Oxford is ſaid to have paid no leſs than fifteen thouſand marks as a compoſition for his offence.

We have already ſeen, in a thouſand inſtances, what a perverted uſe was made of monaſteries, and other places appropriated to religious worſhip, by the number of criminals who found ſanctuary there. Thoſe places were now become the abode of murderers, robbers, and conſpirators. Henry uſed all his intereſt with the pope to get theſe ſanctuaries aboliſhed; but was not able to ſucceed. All that he could procure was, that if thieves, murderers, or robbers, regiſtered as ſanctuary men, ſhould ſally out, and commit freſh offences, and retreat again, in ſuch caſes they might be taken out of the ſanctuary.

Henry was not remiſs in abridging the pope's power, while, at the ſame time, he profeſſed the utmoſt ſubmiſſion to his commands. The pope at one time was ſo far impoſed upon by his ſeeming attachment to the church, that he even invited him to renew the cruſades for recovering the Holy Land. Henry's anſwer deſerves to be remembered. He aſſured his holineſs that no prince in Chriſtendom would be more forward to undertake ſo glorious an expedition; but as his dominions lay very diſtant from Conſtantinople, it would be better to apply to the kings of France and Spain; and in the mean time he would go to their aid himſelf, as ſoon as all the differences between the Chriſtian princes ſhould be brought to an end.

While

While he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In former reigns they were sure to suffer on whatever side they fought, when they were unsuccessful. This rendered each party desperate in a civil war, as no hopes of pardon remained. He therefore procured an act, by which it was established, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the king for the time being, or, in other words, him who was in possession of the throne. This excellent statute served to repress the desire of civil war, as several would naturally take arms in defence of that side, on which they were certain of losing nothing by a defeat; and numbers would thus serve to intimidate rebellion. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleness by their superiors, were now obliged to become industrious for their support. And the nobility, instead of vying with each other in the number of their retainers, acquired a more civilized species of emulation. The king's greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, because this naturally introduced a spirit of liberty among the people, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their original to some strong castle in the neighbourhood, where some powerful lord generally resided. These were at once fortresses for protection, and prisons for all sorts of criminals. In this

caſtle there was uſually a garriſon armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's ſupport. To theſe ſeats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and ſhop-keepers, naturally reſorted, and ſettled on ſome adjacent ſpot to furniſh the lord and his attendants with all neceſſaries. The farmers alſo, and the huſbandmen in the neighbourhood, built their houſes there, to be protected againſt the numerous gangs of robbers that hid themſelves in the woods by day, and infeſted the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from ſuch a neighbourhood, by inviting the inhabitants to a more commercial ſituation. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a juſt payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

But it muſt not be concealed, that as he grew old, his avarice continually increaſed; and the method he took to augment his treaſures cannot be juſtified. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his intentions. They were both lawyers; the firſt of mean birth, brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper; the ſecond, better born, and better bred, but equally ſevere and inflexible. It was their uſual practice to commit by indictment, ſuch perſons to priſon as they intended to oppreſs; from whence they ſeldom got free, but by paying heavy fines, which were called mitigations. By degrees, as they were grown more hardened in oppreſſion, the very forms of law were

were omitted; they determined in a ſummary way upon the properties of the ſubject, and confiſcated their effects to the royal treaſury. But the chief inſtruments of oppreſſion employed by theſe miniſters were the penal ſtatutes, which, without conſideration of rank, quality or ſervices, were rigidly put in execution againſt all men.

In this manner, was the latter part of this active monarch's reign employed in ſchemes to ſtrengthen the power of the crown, by amaſſing money, and extending that of the people. * He had the ſatisfaction about that time of completing a marriage between Arthur, the prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catharine of Spain, which had been projected and negotiated during the courſe of ſeven years. But this marriage proved in the event, unproſperous. The young prince ſickened and died in a few months after, ‡ very much regretted by the whole nation; and the princeſs was obliged ſhortly after † to marry his ſecond ſon Henry, who was created Prince of Wales in the room of his brother. The prince himſelf made all the oppoſition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of; but as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the marriage was, by the pope's diſpenſation, ſhortly after ſolemnized.

Henry having ſeen England in a great meaſure civilized by his endeavours, his people paying their taxes without conſtraint, the nobles confeſſing a juſt ſubordination, the laws alone inflicting puniſhment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful

* A. D. 1501. ‡ A. D. 1502. † A. D. 1503.

commerce every day encreasing, the spirit of faction extinguished, and foreigners either fearing England or seeking its alliance, he began to perceive the approaches of his end. He died of the gout in his stomach, having lived fifty-two years and reigned twenty-three.

* About this time all Europe, as well as England, seemed to rouze from the long lethargy, during which it continued for above twelve hundred years. France, Spain, Portugal and Sweden enjoyed excellent monarchs; who encouraged and protected the rising arts. The Portuguese sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vasquez de Gama; and the Spaniards, under the conduct of Columbus, had made the discovery of the new world of America. It was by accident only, that Henry had not a considerable share in these great naval discoveries; for Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew into England in order to explain his projects to the king, and to crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited Columbus to England; but his brother in returning being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus in the mean time, succeeding with Isabella, happily effected his enterprize. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian dwelling at Bristol, and sent him westward in search of new countries. This adventurer

* A. D 1509.

adventurer diſcover'd the main land of America to the North; then ſailed Southward along the coaſt, and diſcovered Newfoundland and other countries; but returned without making any ſettlement. The king, ſoon after, expended fourteen thouſand pounds in building one ſhip called the GREAT HARRY. This was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but to hire ſhips from the merchants.

King Henry had only two views,---To keep the crown, and to accumulate riches. All his thoughts centered here: and in purſuit of either of theſe, he regarded neither conſcience nor honour: nor had he any concern about religion, juſtice, or mercy: any more than about truth. His inſatiable avarice, his dark and reſerved temper, his haughtineſs and cruelty, with his arbitrary method of government, made him feared; but not beloved or eſteemed. In a word, he was a very bad man, and far from a good governor, ſcarce ſo good as William the Conqueror.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY VIII.

NO prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumſtances more in his favour than Henry VIII. who now in the nineteenth year of his age, * undertook the government of the kingdom. His father left him a peaceful throne, a well ſtored treaſury, and an undiſputed ſucceſſion. He was in friendſhip with all the powers of Europe, and his ſubjects were every day growing more powerful and more wealthy; commerce and arts had for ſome time been introduced into the kingdom, and the Engliſh gave them a favourable reception. The young king himſelf was handſome in perſon, expert in polite exerciſes, and loved by his ſubjects. The old king, who was himſelf a ſcholar, had him inſtructed in all the learning of the times; ſo that he was an adept in ſchool-divinity before the age of eighteen.

But favourable as theſe circumſtances were, Henry ſoon ſhewed that they went but a ſhort way

* A. D. 1509.

way in forming a good character: they were merely the gifts of nature, or accompliſhments implanted by the aſſiduity of his father; but he wanted the more ſolid advantages, a good heart, and a ſound underſtanding. The learning he had, ſerved only to inflame his pride, but not control his vicious affections; the love of his ſubjects broke out in flattery, and this was another meteor to lead him aſtray. His vaſt wealth, inſtead of relieving the public, or increaſing his power, only contributed to ſupply his debaucheries. But it had been happy for his people if his faults had reſted here; he was a tyrant; and however fortunate ſome of his meaſures might prove in the event, no good man but muſt revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accompliſhment.

Before he was crowned, Empſon and Dudley, were cited before the council, in order to anſwer for their conduct; but Empſon alledged that far from deſerving cenſure, his actions merited reward and approbation. Yet they were ſent to the Tower, and ſoon after brought to their trial. As the ſtrictly executing the laws, could not be alledged againſt them as a crime, they were accuſed of having entered into a conſpiracy againſt the preſent king. * Nothing could be more improbable than ſuch a charge; nevertheleſs the jury gave a verdict againſt them, and they were both executed, ſome time after, by a warrant from the king.

Julius the ſecond was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and

* A. D. 1510.

ambition; but his chief reſentment was againſt Lewis, king of France, who was in poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of Italy, from which he hoped, to remove him. † For this purpoſe he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Henry of England; to each of whom he offered ſuch advantages as were moſt likely to enflame their ambition, in caſe they fell upon Lewis on their reſpective quarters; while he undertook himſelf to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, readily undertook to defend his cauſe; and his parliament being ſummoned, as readily granted ſupplies for a purpoſe ſo much favoured by the people. It was in vain that one of his old prudent councellors objected, that conqueſts on the continent would only drain the kingdom, and that England, from its ſituation, was not fitted to enjoy extenſive empire: the young king, burning with military ardour, reſolved to undertake the war. ‡ The marquis of Dorſet was firſt ſent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to aſſiſt the operations of Ferdinand; but that crafty monarch had no intentions of ſeconding their attempts; wherefore they were obliged to return without effect.

A conſiderable fleet was equipped, ſome time after, ‖ to annoy the enemy by ſea, and the command entruſted to Sir Edward Howard; who, after ſcouring the Channel, preſented himſelf before Breſt, where the French navy lay. As the French were unequal to the enemy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement

† A. D. 1511. ‡ 1512. ‖ 1513.

inforcement, which they expected under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard reſolved to diſappoint them; and, upon the appearance of Prejeant with ſix gallies, he boldly rowed up with two gallies, followed by barges filled with officers of diſtinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ſhip, he immediately faſtened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen. The cable, mean while, which faſtened both ſhips together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he ſtill continued to fight, he was puſhed over board, and periſhed in the ſea. Upon his misfortune the fleet retired from before Breſt, and the French for a while kept poſſeſſion of the ſea.

This ſlight repulſe, only ſerved to enflame the king's ardour: he ſoon ſent eight thouſand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury; and another body of ſix thouſand, under the conduct of Lord Herbert. He followed himſelf with the main body and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the Engliſh nobility. But he ſoon had an attendant, who did him ſtill more honour. This was no leſs a perſonage than Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had ſtipulated to aſſiſt him with eight thouſand men; but being unable to perform his engagements, joined the Engliſh army with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline

to Henry's new levied ſoldiers. He even enliſted himſelf in the Engliſh ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and received pay, an hundred crowns a day, as one of Henry's ſubjects and captains.

Henry being now at the head of a formidable army, fifty thouſand ſtrong, it was ſuppoſed that France muſt fall a victim to him. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone: the Swiſs, on another quarter, with twenty-five thouſand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack. Never was the French monarchy in ſo diſtreſſed a ſituation; but the errors of its aſſailants procured its ſafety. The Swiſs entered into a treaty with Tremouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, ſatisfied that his maſter would reſcind them all. Ferdinand continued a quiet ſpectator, waiting for ſome effectual blow to be ſtruck by his allies; and Henry ſpent his time in the ſiege of towns, which could neither ſecure his conqueſts, nor advance his reputation.

The firſt of theſe were Terouanne, a little town on the frontiers of Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garriſon ſcarce amounted to a thouſand men. The beſieged, after ſome time, falling ſhort of proviſions, a deſperate attempt was made to ſupply them. A French captain, led up a body of eighteen hundred men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder

powder, and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this ſmall force he made a fierce irruption into the Engliſh camp; and, ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burthen. Then returning upon the gallop, they were again ſo fortunate as to break through the Engliſh, without any great loſs. But the party of horſe that was ſent to cover the retreat, was not ſo ſucceſsful. Though this body was commanded by the boldeſt and braveſt captains of the French army, yet, on the ſight of the Engliſh, they were ſeized with ſuch an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their beſt officers taken priſoners. This action was called by the Engliſh the battle of the Spurs, as the French, made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords.

After this victory, which might have been followed with important conſequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry ſat down to make ſure of the little town, which had made ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance; and a place, which neither recompenced the blood, nor the delay that were expended in the ſiege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was perſuaded to lay ſiege to Tournay. This ſiege, though it took up but little time, ſerved to retard the great object, the conqueſt of France; and Henry hearing that the Swiſs were returned home, and being elated with his trifling ſucceſſes, reſolved to tranſport his army back to England. A truce was concluded

cluded between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to diſſipate, in peaceful follies, thoſe immenſe ſums which had been amaſſed by his predeceſſor.

The ſucceſs which, during his foreign expedition attended his arms in the North of England, was more important. A war having been declared between the Engliſh and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on, when their neighbours were embroiled with France, king James ſummoned the whole force of his kingdom; and having paſſed the Tweed with fifty thouſand men, ravaged Northumberland. But as the country was barren, he ſoon began to want proviſions; ſo that many of his men returned to their native country. In the mean time the earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a riſing ground, near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between both armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl ſent an herald to the Scotch camp, challenging the enemy to deſcend into the plain, and try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching away towards Berwick, which putting the Scotch in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great ſmoke, cauſed by the firing their huts, and paſſed the little river, which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onſet with great compoſure. The Engliſh divided their army into two lines;

lord

ord Howard led the main body of the firſt ine; Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, nd Sir Marmaduke Conſtable the left; the arl of Surry himſelf commanded the main ody of the ſecond line, aſſiſted by lord Da- res, and Sir Edward Stanley, to the right nd the left. The Scots, on the other hand, reſented three diviſions; the middle com- anded by the king, the right by the earl of untley, and the left by the earls of Lenox nd Argyle; a fourth diviſion, under the earl f Bothwell, made a body of reſerve. Lord untley began the onſet, charging the divi- on of lord Howard with ſuch fury, that it as immediately routed. But this diviſion as ſo ſeaſonably ſupported by lord Dacres, hat the men rallied, and the battle became eneral. Both ſides fought a long time with ncredible impetuoſity, until the Highlanders, eing galled by the Engliſh artillery, broke ſword in hand upon the main body, com- anded by the earl of Surry; and at the ead of theſe, James fought with the moſt rward of the nobility. They attacked with ch velocity, that the hinder line could not dvance in time to ſuſtain them, ſo that a ody of Engliſh intercepted their retreat. mes being thus ſurrounded, refuſed to quit e field while it was in his power; but, ighting from his horſe, formed his little bo- into an orb, and in this poſture fought ith ſuch deſperate courage, as reſtored the ttle. The Engliſh were again obliged to ve recourſe to their artillery and arrows, hich made a terrible havock; but night

ſeparating

ſeparating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived he had gained a glorious victory. The Engliſh had loſt no perſons of note, but the whole flower of the Scotch nobility were fallen. Ten thouſand of the common men were cut off, and a body, ſuppoſed to be that of the king, was ſent to London, where it remained unburied, as a ſentence of excommunication ſtill remained againſt James, for having leagued with France againſt the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, abſolution was given him and the body was interred.

Theſe ſucceſſes only ſerved to intoxicate Henry the more; and while his pleaſures engroſſed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhauſted his treaſures. As it was natural to ſuppoſe the old miniſters, appointed to direct him by his father, would not willingly concur in theſe idle projects, Henry had, for ſome time diſcontinued aſking their advice, ‡and chiefly confided in the counſels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolſey, who complied with all his maſter's inclinations, and flattered him in every ſcheme to which he was inclined. Wolſey was the ſon of a private gentleman, and not of a butcher as is commonly reported, of Ipſwich. He was ſent to Oxford ſo early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and at that time was called the boy bachelor. He roſe by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorſet, whoſe children he had

‡ A. D. 1514.

had inſtructed. He had not long reſided at this living, when one of the juſtices of the peace put him in the ſtocks for being drunk. This diſgrace, however, did not retard his promotion; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the ſeventh; and being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negotiation reſpecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he obtained the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commiſſion to Maximilian, at Bruſſels, was ſurprized in leſs than three days after to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him: and began to reprove his delay. Wolſey ſurpriſed him with aſſurances that he was juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had ſucceſsfully fulfilled all his majeſty's commands. His diſpatch on that occaſion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, and in this ſituation it was that he was introduced by Fox, biſhop of Vincheſter, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to ſupplant the earl of Surry. Preſently after, he was made a privy-counſellor; and had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himſelf with the young king, as he appeared at once complying and enterprizing. Wolſey uſed every art to ſuit himſelf to the royal temper; he ſung, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman were any reſtraint upon him. To Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleaſing; and Wolſey was ſoon acknowledged his chief favourite. His character being now placed in a more conſpicuous light, manifeſted itſelf

itſelf the more. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expence; of extenſive capacity, but ſtill more unbounded in enterprize; ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory; inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive, and at other times lofty and commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends: more generous than grateful; formed to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe, but vain enough not to cover his ſuperiority.

* He had been advanced to the biſhopric of Lincoln; but this he reſigned, upon being promoted to the archbiſhopric of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been promoted to the ſee of that place; but beſides, he got poſſeſſion at very low leaſes of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits. Beſides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the ſee of York firſt that of Durham, next that of Wincheſter; and his appetite ſeemed to encreaſe, by the means that were taken to ſatisfy it. The pope, obſerving his great influence over the king, was deſirous of engaging him and created him a cardinal. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some, even of the nobility, put their children into his family as a place of education; and whoever was diſtinguiſhed

* A. D. 1515.

tinguiſhed by any art or ſcience, paid court to the cardinal, and was liberally rewarded. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes.

Beſide theſe diſtinctions the pope ſoon after conferred upon him that of legate, deſigning to make him inſtrumental in draining the kingdom of money, upon pretence of employing it in a war againſt the Turks, but in reality to fill his own coffers. In this he ſo well ſerved the court of Rome, that ſome time after the poſt of legate was conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his perſon the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbiſhop, and prime miniſter.

Soon after, Warham, chancellor, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, choſe to retire from public employment. Wolſey received the chancellorſhip, and exerciſed the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk finding the king's treaſures exhauſted, and his taſte for expence ſtill continuing, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had firſt been inſtrumental in Wolſey's riſe, withdrew himſelf in diſguſt; the duke of Suffolk alſo went home with a reſolution to remain private, whilſt Wolſey availed himſelf of their diſcontents, and filled up their places by his his creatures. Theſe were vaſt ſtretches of power; yet he was ſtill inſatiable. ‡ He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him

‡ A. D. 1516.

him to make knights and counts, to legitimate baſtards, to give degrees in arts, law, phyſic, and divinity; and to grant all ſorts of diſpenſations.

* Francis the firſt, of France, had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at laſt ſucceeded. Henry was perſuaded by the cardinal to deliver up Tournay to the French: and he alſo agreed to an interview with that monarch. This expenſive congreſs was held between Guiſnes and Ardres, near Calais; within the Engliſh pale, in compliment to Henry for croſſing the ſea. The two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpoſe, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the firſt words of it, "I Henry, king," he ſtopt a moment; and then ſubjoined only "of England," without adding France, the uſual ſtyle of Engliſh monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed his approbation by a ſmile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occaſion. Many of them involved themſelves in large debts: and the penury of a life was ſcarce ſufficient to reimburſe the extravagance of a few days. Yet at firſt there appeared ſomething low and illiberal in their mutual diſtruſts; the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both ſides; every ſtep was carefully adjuſted: they paſſed each other in the middle-point between both places, when they went to viſit their queens; and at the ſame inſtant

* A. D. 1518.

inſtant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. But Francis put an end to this. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guiſnes, crying out to the Engliſh guards, that they were their priſoners, and deſiring to be carried to their maſter. Henry was not a little aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother, ſaid he, you have "here given me the moſt agreeable ſurprize: "you have ſhewn me the full confidence I "may place in you; I ſurrender myſelf your "priſoner from this moment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, and putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed; and giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, inſiſted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Adres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed between theſe monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time in feaſts and tournaments.

|| But theſe empty ſplendours were not ſufficient to appeaſe the jealouſy of the nobles at home. Among theſe the duke of Buckingham, the ſon of him who loſt his life in the reign of Richard the third, was the foremoſt to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profuſion with juſt contempt. Some informers took care that Wolſey ſhould be apprized of all, who im-

|| A. D. 1520.

impeached him for having conſulted a for-tune-teller concerning his ſucceſſion to the crown. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whoſe father had died in defence of the late king; but he was brought to a trial, and the duke of Nor-folk, whoſe ſon had married his daughter, was created lord ſteward. He was condemn-ed to die, as a traitor, by a jury, conſiſting of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons. * When the ſentence was pronounc-ing againſt him, and the high ſteward came to mention the word traitor, the unhappy pri-ſoner could not contain his indignation. "My "lords, cried he to the judges, I am no trai-"tor; and for what you have now done "againſt me, take my ſincere forgiveneſs; "as for my life, I think it not worth petiti-"oning for; may God forgive you, and pity "me." He was ſoon after executed on Tower-Hill.

By this time, all the immenſe treaſures of the late king were quite exhauſted on empty pageants, guilty pleaſures or vain expedi-tions. But the king relied upon Wolſey for repleniſhing his coffers; and no perſon could be fitter for the purpoſe. His firſt care was to get a large ſum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted the mortification of be-ing conſidered as a free-gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raiſed, pro-vided he had the enjoyment of it.

A treaty with France, which threatned to make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry

* A. D. 1521.

Henry to wiſh for new ſupplies, or at leaſt he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had teſtified their reluctance to indulge his wiſhes, he followed the advice of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued out commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three ſhillings and fourpence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the meaſure, by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable ſtretch of royal power was quickly oppoſed by the people; they were unwilling to ſubmit to impoſitions unknown till now, and a general inſurrection threatened to enſue. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. The pride of Wolſey was now great; but his riches were ſtill greater: and this year he undertook to found two new colleges, one in Oxford, and another at Ipſwich, for which he received every day freſh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite ſcheme, he obtained a liberty of ſuppreſſing ſeveral monaſteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundation. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him theſe privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the Pontiff's intereſts; for Henry was thus taught ſhortly afterwards to imitate, what he had ſeen a ſubject perform with impunity.

Hitherto

* A. D. 1461.

Hitherto the adminiſtration of all affai was carried on by Wolſey; for the king w contented to loſe, in the embraces of his mi treſſes, all the complaints of his ſubjec But now a period was approaching to th miniſter's exorbitant power. One of the mo important revolutions that ever employed th attention of man, was now ripe for execu tion. This was no leſs a change than the Re formation; to have an idea of the riſe o which, it will be proper to take a curſor view of the ſtate of the church at that time and to obſerve by what ſeemingly contradic tory means Providence produces the moſt hap py events.

The church of Rome had now, for mor than a thouſand years, been corrupting th ancient ſimplicity of the Goſpel. The pop had been frequently ſeen at the head of the own armies, fighting for their dominions, an forgetting in deteſtable maxims of ſtate, th pretended ſanctity of their characters. Th cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of th church, were ſerved like voluptuous princes and ſome of them were found to poſſeſs eigh or nine biſhopricks at once*. Wherever th church governed, it exerted that power wit cruelty; ſo that to their luxuries was uſua ly added the crime of tyranny too. As f the inferior clergy, both popiſh and prote tant writers exclaim againſt their abandone morals. They publicly kept miſtreſſes, an bequeathed to their illegitimate children wha ever they were able to ſave from their ple ſures, or extort from the poor. There

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* St. Charles Barromeo died poſſeſſed of Sixt two Benefices.

ſtill to be ſeen a will made by a biſhop of Cambray, in which he ſets aſide a certain ſum for the baſtards he has had already, and thoſe which, by the bleſſing of God, he may yet happen to have. The vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin maſs. But what moſt increaſed the hatred of the people againſt them was the ſelling pardons for ſin, at ſtated prices. A deacon, or ſub-deacon, who committed murder, was abſolved and allowed to poſſeſs three benefices upon paying twenty crowns. A biſhop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its ſtated value; and abſolutions were given for ſins not only already committed, but ſuch as ſhould be committed hereafter. The wiſeſt of the people looked with deteſtation on theſe impoſitions; and the ignorant themſelves, began to open their eyes.

Theſe vices and impoſitions were now almoſt come to a head; and the increaſe of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them reſiſt that power, which was originally founded in deceit. † Leo the tenth was at that time eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure mouey for it, he gave commiſſions out for ſelling indulgencies. Theſe were to free the purchaſer from the pains of purgatory; and they would ſerve even for one's friends. There were every where ſhops opened, where they were to be

† A. D. 1519.

ſold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming houſes. Martin Luther, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wirtemberg, was an Auguſtine monk, and one of thoſe who deeply reſented this. He began to ſhew his indignation by preaching againſt their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he inveighed againſt the authority of the pope himſelf. Being driven hard by his adverſaries, ſtill as he enlarged his reading, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his diſcourſes with pleaſure, and defended him againſt the authority of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, ſurnamed the Wiſe, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model. It was in vain that the pope iſſued out his bulls againſt Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he defied the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the ſtreets of Wirtemberg. In the mean time, the diſpute was carried on by writing on either ſide. Luther, though oppoſed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, ſupported his cauſe ſingly and with ſucceſs. In this diſpute, it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both ſides. Willing to convince the world of his abilities, he obtained the pope's permiſſion to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden, under pain of excommunication. In conſequence of this, the king defended the ſeven ſacra-

ſacraments, though it is thought Wolſey had the chief hand in directing him. The book being finiſhed was ſent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to ſuppoſe would not be with-held. The pontiff, raviſhed with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Auguſtine; and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith, little imagining that Henry was ſoon to be one of the moſt terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Beſides theſe cauſes, which contributed to render the Romiſh church odious and contemptible, there were ſtill others, proceeding from political meaſures. Clement the ſeventh had ſucceeded Leo, and the hereditary animoſity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war, Clement was impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Angelo; and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in cuſtody for his ranſom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negotiate for the pope; but his holineſs, in the mean time, corrupting his guards, procured his eſcape from confinement; and leaving the treaty unfiniſhed, ſent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. The violence of the emperor, taught Henry that popes might be injured with impunity; and the behaviour of the pope manifeſted but little of that ſanctity or infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended.

It was in this ſituation of the church and the pope, that a new ſcene was going to be

opened. § Henry had now been eighteen years married to Catharine of Arragon, who, as we have related, had been brought over from Spain to marry his elder brother, that died a few months after co-habitation. But notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princeſs did not paſs without heſitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent againſt a conjugal union between ſuch near relations; and the late king, though he had ſolemnized the eſpouſals, when his ſon was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. Theſe intentions might have given Henry ſome ſcruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage; yet as he had three children by the princeſs, and as her character and conduct were blameleſs, he for a while kept his ſuggeſtions private. But ſhe was ſix years older than him; and the decay of her beauty, made him deſirous of another conſort. Beſides he had a touch of ſuperſtition, and often imputed the death of his two ſons, to the diſpleaſure of God, at his inceſtuous marriage with his brother's widow. But he was now carried forward by a motive more powerful than the ſuggeſtions of his conſcience. Among the maids of honour then attending the queen, there was one Anna Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of diſtinction, and related to moſt of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in ſeveral embaſſies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty

§ A. D. 1527.

beauty of Anne ſurpaſſed whatever had hitherto appeared at court; and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to ſet off her perſonal charms. Her features were regular, mild and attractive, her ſtature elegant, though below the middle ſize, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of reſtraining any paſſion, ſaw and loved her; but after ſeveral efforts, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of ſucceeding. This obſtacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove; and in order to procure a divorce, he alledged that his conſcience rebuked him for having ſo long lived with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, he applied to Clement the ſeventh, who owed him many obligations, deſiring him to diſſolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permiſſion to marry Catherine; and to declare that it was not in the power, even of the holy ſee, to diſpenſe with a law ſo ſtrictly enjoined in ſcripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmoſt perplexity; queen Catherine was aunt to the emperor, who had lately made him a priſoner, and whoſe reſentment he dreaded: beſide, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit, for this would be giving a blow to the papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend; the dominions of England were the chief reſource from whence his finances were ſupplied, and the king of France, ſome time before, had got a bill of divorce in

ſimilar circumſtances. * In this exigence, he thought the wiſeſt method would be to ſpin out the affair; ſo he ſent over a commiſſion to Wolſey, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and the former diſpenſation; granting them alſo a proviſional diſpenſation for the king's marriage with any other perſon. When this meſſage was laid before the council in England, they conſidered that an advice given by the pope in this ſecret manner, might be diſavowed in public; and that a clandeſtine marriage would invalidate the legitimacy of any iſſue the king ſhould have by ſuch a match. In conſequence of this, freſh meſſengers were diſpatched to Rome, and evaſive anſwers returned, the pope ſtill continuing to promiſe, recant, diſpute, and temporize; hoping that the king's paſſion would never hold out during the tedious courſe of an eccleſiaſtical controverſy. In this he was miſtaken. Henry had been long taught to diſpute as well as he, and quickly found many texts of ſcripture to favour his paſſions. To his arguments he added threats, aſſuring the pope, that the Engliſh were already but too well diſpoſed to withdraw from the holy ſee; and that if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch, who, ſtung by ingratitude ſhould deny all obedience to a pontiff, by whom he had always been treated with duplicity.

The

* A. D. 1528.

* The pope, perceiving the eagerneſs of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his ſollicitations, and ſent cardinal Campegio, his legate, to London, who with Wolſey opened a court for trying the legitimacy of the king's preſent marriage, and cited the king and the queen to appear before them. They both preſented themſelves; and the king anſwered to his name when called; but the queen, inſtead of anſwering to her's, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, in the moſt pathetic manner, entreated him to have pity upon her helpleſs ſituation. A ſtranger, unprotected, unfriended, ſhe could only rely on him as her guardian and defender, on him alone who knew her ſubmiſſion and her innocence, and not upon any court, in which her enemies would wreſt the laws againſt her; ſhe, therefore, refuſed the preſent trial, where ſhe could expect neither juſtice nor impartiality. Yet notwithſtanding the queen's objections, her trial went forward; and Henry ſhortly hoped to be gratified. The principal point which came before the legates, was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine, which ſome of his own expreſſions to that purpoſe tended to confirm. Other topics were preparing, and the buſineſs ſeemed now to be drawing near a period, when, to the ſurprize of all, Campegio, without any warning, prorogued the court; and transferred the cauſe to the court of Rome.

During the courſe of theſe perplexing negotiations, Henry had at firſt expected to

* A. D. 1529.

find in his favourite Wolſey, a warm defender and a ſteady adherent; but he found himſelf miſtaken. Wolſey ſeemed to be in the ſame dilemma with the pope. On the one hand, he was to pleaſe the king, from whom he had received a thouſand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to diſoblige the pope, whoſe ſervant he more immediately was. He therefore reſolved to continue neuter; and though of all men the moſt haughty, he gave way on this occaſion to his colleague Campegio in all things, pretending a deference to his ſkill in canon law. Wolſey's ſcheme was highly diſpleaſing to the king, but for a while he ſtifled his reſentment. He for ſome time looked out for a man of equal abilities; and it was not long before Providence threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, of greater talents and of more integrity. Cranmer was a doctor of divinity, and a profeſſor at Cambridge, but had loſt his office upon marrying contrary to the inſtitutes of the canon law. He had travelled in his youth into Germany; and it was there he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox the king's almoner, the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation. He gave it as his opinion, that the readieſt way to quiet the king's conſcience, or to extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe upon the affair; an advice which being brought to the king,

pleaſed

pleaſed him ſo much, that Cranmer was deſired to follow the court.

The king finding himſelf provided with a perſon who could ſupply Wolſey's place, appeared leſs reſerved in his reſentments againſt that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment againſt him; and he was ſoon after commanded to reſign the great ſeal. Crimes are eaſily found againſt a favourite in diſgrace, and the courtiers did not fail to increaſe the catalogue. He was ordered to depart from York-place; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's uſe. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the moſt extravagant ſurmiſes. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thouſand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and ſilver; he had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold; all the reſt of his riches and furniture were in proportion. The parliament ſoon after confirmed the ſentence of the Star-chamber, and he was ordered to retire to Eſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton; there to await the king's further pleaſure. Still, however, he was in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of York and biſhopric of Wincheſter; and the king gave him diſtant gleams of hope, by ſending him a ring accompanied with a gracious meſſage. Wolſey, who was proud to his equals and mean to thoſe above him, happening to meet the king's meſſenger on horſe-back, immediately alighted, and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire,

received, in that abject manner those marks of his majesty's condescension. † But after he had remained some time at Esher, he was ordered to remove to his see of York; where he took up his residence at Cawood, and rendered himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason, and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he set out, by easy journies, for London, to appear as a criminal, where he had acted as a king. In his way he stayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewsbury's, at Sheffield Castle; where he was seized with a dysentary. Being brought forward from thence, he with much difficulty reached Leicester Abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, he spoke to Sir William Kingston to this effect; "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his majesty; he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; but rather than he will want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you, I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could

† A. D. 1530.

could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my juſt reward, for not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince." He died ſoon after, in all the pangs of remorſe, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid by ambition. He left two natural children behind him, one of whom, being a prieſt, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry now, by Cranmer's advice, had the legality of his preſent marriage canvaſſed in all the moſt noted univerſities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to ſee the king on one ſide ſoliciting the univerſities to be favourable to his paſſion; and, on the other the emperor preſſing them with equal ardor to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded thoſe doctors who declared on his ſide; and the emperor granted benefices to ſuch as voted in conformity to his wiſhes. In this conteſt, the liberalities, and conſequently the votes of Henry prevailed. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimouſly declared his preſent marriage againſt all law, divine and human; and therefore alledged, that it was not in the power of the pope himſelf to grant a diſpenſation. The only places where this deciſion was moſt warmly oppoſed, were at Oxford and Cambridge; but they alſo concurred in the ſame opinion at laſt.

Henry being thus fortified by the ſuffrages of the univerſities, was now reſolved to oppoſe even the pope himſelf, and began in

parliament by reviving an old law againſt the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all thoſe who had ſubmitted to the legantine authority had incurred ſevere penalties. || The clergy to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of an hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds. A confeſſion was likewiſe extorted from them, that the king was ſupreme head of the church of England. By theſe conceſſions a great part of the profits, and ſtill more of the power, of the church of Rome was cut off. An act ſoon after was paſſed againſt levying the firſt fruits, or a year's rent, of all the biſhopricks that fell vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he reſolved to keep no further meaſures with the pontiff. † He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioneſs of Pembroke, the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and Dr. Cranmer being preſent at the ceremony. Soon after, finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage, and paſſed with his beautiful bride through London, with a a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. The ſtreets were ſtrewed, the walls of the houſes were hung with tapiſtries, the conduits ran with wine, and an univerſal joy was diffuſed among the people. * Catharine, who had all along ſupported her claims with reſolution, and yet with modeſty, was cited to a trial; but refuſing to appear, ſhe was pronounced contumacious, and judgment given againſt the validity of her marriage

|| A. D. 1531. † A. D. 1532. * A. D. 1533.

riage with the king. Finding the inutility of further reſiſtance, ſhe retired to Ampthill, near Dunſtable, where ſhe continued the reſt of her life in privacy and peace.

In the mean time, when this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by their ardour, and frighted alſo by the menaces of the emperor, publiſhed a ſentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife, and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of cenſures in caſe of refuſal. On the other hand, Henry finding that his ſubjects of all ranks had taken part with him, reſolved no longer to renew theſe ſubmiſſions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for ſome years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own dioceſe. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated ſcheme of ſeparating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy was for him, as they had already declared againſt the pope, in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wiſhed to ſee the church humbled, which had ſo long grown opulent by their labours and diſtreſſes. Thus all things co-operating with his deſigns, he at once ordered himſelf to be declared by his clergy the ſupreme head of the church; the parliament confirmed the title, aboliſhed all authority of the pope in England, * voted all tributes, formerly paid to the

* A. D. 1534.

the holy ſee, illegal, and intruſted the king with the collation to all eccleſiaſtical benefices. The nation came into the king's meaſures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of ſupremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had ſubſiſted for ages, was now at once overthrown, and none ſeemed to repine at the revolution, except thoſe who were immediately intereſted.

But though Henry had thus ſeparated from the church, yet he had not addicted himſelf to the ſyſtem of any other reformer. The idea of hereſy ſtill appeared deteſtable, as well as formidable, to him; and whilſt his reſentment againſt the ſee of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point not to relinquiſh the reſt. Separate as he ſtood from the Roman pontiff, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding them by fire and ſword. His miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as himſelf, and ſeemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and new religion. The young queen favoured the cauſe of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, now taken into the favour and confidence of the king, did the ſame. And being a man of prudence and ability, he was very ſucceſsful in promoting the reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, now archbiſhop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the proteſtant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worſhip; and

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by the greatneſs of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had inliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, rendered him extremely uſeful to it. The king, mean while, who held the balance between them, was enabled, by the courtſhip paid him by both proteſtants and catholics, to aſſume an immeaſurable authority.

‡ As the mode of religion was not as yet known, and as the minds of thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments were extremely exaſperated, it naturally followed that ſeveral muſt fall a ſacrefice in the conteſts between ancient eſtabliſhments, and modern reformation. The reformers were the firſt unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of thoſe who were for the continuance of ancient ſuperſtitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accuſed of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before Sir Thomas More during his chancellorſhip; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, had embraced the new doctrine; but being terrified into an abjuration, he was ſo ſtung with remorſe, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhop's court, condemned as a relapſed heretic, and burnt accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiſs in puniſhing ſuch as diſowned the propriety of his

‡ A. D. 1535.

his late defection from Rome; and the monks, as they ſuffered moſt by the reformation, ſo they were moſt obnoxious, from their free manner of ſpeaking, to the royal reſentment.

To aſſiſt him in bringing theſe to puniſhment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his ſupremacy over the church; and many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of crime. But of thoſe who fell as a ſacrifice to this unjuſt law, none are ſo much to be regretted as John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and the celebrated Sir Thomas More. Fiſher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but being attached to his ancient opinions, was thrown into priſon, and deprived of his eccleſiaſtical revenues; ſo that he had ſcarce even rags to cover him in his ſevere confinement. He was ſoon after indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is intitled to ſtill greater pity. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and inconteſtably the foremoſt writer of his age, had, for ſome time, refuſed to act in ſubſerviency to the capricious paſſions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office, rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The auſterity of this man's virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had in no wiſe encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper; and even in the midſt of poverty and diſgrace he could preſerve that natural chearfulneſs, which was inſpired by conſcious innocence. Being put into con-

finement,

finement, no intreaties could prevail with him to acknowledge the juſtice of the king's claims. One Rich, then ſollicitor-general, was ſent to confer with him; and in his preſence he was inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law, which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was like a two-edged ſword. If a perſon anſwered one way it would confound his ſoul; if another, it would deſtroy his body. Theſe words were ſufficient for the baſe informer to hang an accuſation upon: and as trials at that time were but mere formalities, the jury gave ſentence againſt him. His chearfulneſs attended him to the laſt. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up; and when I go down "again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never "get credit by beheading me, my neck is ſo "ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he had put aſide his beard, for ſaid he, that has never committed treaſon.

The concurrence which the people ſeemed to lend to theſe fierce ſeverities, added to the great authority which Henry poſſeſſed, induced him to proceed ſtill farther in his ſcheme of innovation. As the monks had all along ſhewn him the greateſt reſiſtance, he reſolved at once to deprive them of power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, to ſend commiſſioners into the ſeveral counties of England to inſpect the monaſteries; and to report, with rigorous exactneſs, the conduct

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of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by many, who discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses. Whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness, friars accomplices in their crimes, pious frauds everywhere practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations were urged with great clamour against these communities: and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

The king now, therefore, thought he might with safety, and even some degree of popularity, abolish these institutions: but willing to proceed gently at first, he gave directions to parliament to go no farther at* present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, who possessed revenues below the value of two hundred pounds a year. By this act, three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their goods and plate, computed at an hundred thousand pounds more. But this was only the beginning; about two years after, he resolved upon the entire destruction of all monasteries. A new visitation was therefore appointed, and fresh crimes were produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice, that in less than two years, he became possessed of all the monastic revenues. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which

* A. D. 1536.

which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries, and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds, which was about a twentieth part of the national income. The loſs which was ſuſtained by the clergy upon this occaſion, was not ſo mortifying as the inſults and reproaches to which they were expoſed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberleſs reliques which they had amaſſed, to delude and draw money from the people, were now expoſed before the populace with the moſt poignant contempt: an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the ſpear that pierced the ſide of Chriſt; coals that had roaſted St. Lawrence, the parings of St. Edmond's toes, certain relics to prevent rain, others to ſtop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raiſing, rolling the eyes, and ſhaking the head. It was brought to London, and broke to pieces at Paul's Croſs; and the wheels and ſprings by which it was actuated, ſhewn to the people. But the ſpoils of St. Thomas à Becket's ſhrine at Canterbury exceed what even imagination might conceive. The ſhrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large cheſts that eight ſtrong men could hardly carry out

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of the church. The king even cited the ſaint himſelf to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the Calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his feſtival to be ſtruck out of the Breviary. Such were the meaſures with which the king proceeded againſt theſe ſeats of indolence and impoſture; but as great murmurs were excited, he took care that all thoſe who could be dangerous in caſe of oppoſition, ſhould be ſharers in the ſpoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He alſo erected ſix new biſhopricks, Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborow, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter, of which the laſt five ſtill continue. He alſo ſettled ſalaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and each monk was allowed a yearly penſion of eight marks for his ſubſiſtence.

But though the king had entirely ſeparated himſelf from Rome, yet he was unwilling to follow any guide in his new ſyſtem. He would not therefore wholly aboliſh thoſe practiſes, by which prieſtcraft had been carried to ſuch a pitch of abſurdity. The invocation of ſaints was only reſtrained. He gave orders, to have the Bible tranſlated into the vulgar tongue; but it was not put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's ſupremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed

iſhed in Germany. His opinions were at ength delivered in a law, which, from its orrid conſequences, was afterwards termed he Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, hat whoever, by word or writing, denied ranſubſtantiation, whoever maintained that he communion in both kinds was neceſſary, whoever aſſerted that it was lawful for prieſts o marry, whoever alledged that vows of chaſ- ity might be broken, whoever maintained hat private maſſes were unprofitable, or that uricular confeſſion was unneceſſary, ſhould e found guilty of hereſy, and burned or hang- d as the court ſhould determine. As the eople were at that time chiefly compoſed ei- her of thoſe who followed the opinions of uther, or ſuch as ſtill adhered to the pope, his ſtatute, with Henry's former decrees, in ome meaſure excluded both, and opened a eld for perſecution, which ſoon after produced readful harveſts.

Theſe ſeverities were preceded by one, ari- ng neither from religious nor political cauſes, ut merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne oleyn, his queen, had been always a favourer f the reformation, and conſequently had ma- y enemies on that account, who only waited ome fit occaſion to deſtroy her credit with he king; and that occaſion preſented itſelf ut too ſoon. The king's paſſion was by this me quite palled by ſatiety; as the only de- re he ever had for her aroſe from that brutal ppetite, which enjoyment ſoon deſtroys, he as now, fallen in love, if we may ſo proſti-

tute

tute the expreſſion, with another, and lan-
guiſhed for Jane Seymour, maid of honour t
the queen.

As ſoon as the queen's enemies perceive
this, they took the firſt opportunity of gra-
tifying his inclination to get rid of her. Th
counteſs of Rochford, who was married t
the queen's brother, a woman of infamou
character, began with the moſt cruel inſinu-
ations againſt the reputation of her ſiſter-in-
law. She pretended that her own huſban
was engaged in an inceſtuous correſpondenc
with his ſiſter. Anne ſmiled at firſt, but whe
ſhe found it was a very ſerious affair, ſhe re
ceived the ſacrament in her cloſet, ſenſible o
what little mercy ſhe had to expect from
furious a tyrant.

In the mean time, her enemies were not re
miſs in inflaming the accuſation againſt he
The duke of Norfolk from his attachment t
the old religion, procured ſeveral witneſſe
accuſing her of incontinency. Four perſon
were pointed out as her paramours; Henr
Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton, an
Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-cham
ber, and Mark Smeton, a muſician. Th
next day the queen was ſent to the Towe
earneſtly proteſting her innocence.

Every perſon at court now abandoned h
in her diſtreſs, except Cranmer, who, thoug
forbid to come into the king's preſence, wro
a letter to him in behalf of the queen; bu
his interceſſion had no effect. On the twelf
day of May, Norris, Weſton, Brereto
and Smeton, were tried in Weſtminſter-Ha
wh

when Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promiſe of a pardon, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but he never was confronted by her he accuſed; and his execution with the reſt, ſhortly after, ſerved to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe his miſtreſs: but he rejected the propoſal with contempt, and died profeſſing her innocence, and his own.

In the mean time the queen, endeavoured to ſoften the king. But nothing could appeaſe him. Her letter to him upon this occaſion, written from the Tower, is too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner ſerves at once to mark the ſituation of her mind, and ſhews to what a pitch of refinement ſhe had carried the language even then. It is as follows.

"Sir,

"Your grace's diſpleaſure, and my imprisonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one, whom you know to be mine ancient profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner received this meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace imagine that your poor wife will be ever brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought

thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: With which name and place I could willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other object. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be yonr queen and companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you have found me worthy of ſuch honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counſel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal heart towards your good grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs your daughter. Try me good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea let me receive an open trial; for my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame: then ſhall you ſee either mine innocency cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open cenſure; and mine offence being

lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me, as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto your grace, not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself only may bear the burden of your grace's displeasure: and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anna Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keep-

ing, and to direct you in all your actions.
From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May,

Your most loyal
and ever faithful wife,
Anna Boleyn."

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whose passions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives; the queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them is unknown; the chief evidence amounted to no more, than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgment, and presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her: but the king's authority was not to be controuled; she was declared guilty; and her sentence ran, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this terrible sentence was pronounced against her, she could not help offering up a prayer to heaven, vindicating her innocence; and in a most pathetic speech to her judges, averred the injustice of her condemnation.

Upon her returning to prison, she once more sent protestations of her innocence to the king. "You have raised me, said she, from

from privacy to make me a lady; from a lady you made me a counteſs; from a counteſs, a queen; and from a queen, I ſhall ſhortly become a ſaint in heaven." On the morning of her execution, ſhe ſent for Kingſtone, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the priſon ſhe ſaid, "Mr. Kingſtone, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am ſorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper attempting to comfort her, by aſſuring her the pain would be very little, ſhe replied, "I have heard the executioner is very expert: and (claſping her neck with her hands, laughing,) I have but a little neck." When brought to the ſcaffold, ſhe would not enflame the minds of the ſpectators, but contented herſelf with ſaying, "that ſhe was come to die as ſhe was ſentenced by the law. She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged; ſhe prayed heartily for the king, and deſired that if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, he would judge the beſt." She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Ann Boleyn was guilty of no other crime than that of having ſurvived the king's affections. Many crowned heads were already put to death in England; but ſhe was the firſt that was beheaded on a ſcaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but ſtill more, when they diſcovered the cauſe of the king's impatience to deſtroy her; for the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way ſoftened by the wretched fate of one that had been ſo lately the object of his warmeſt affections.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch capricious cruelties were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitleſs and their complaints diſregarded. Henry now made himſelf umpire between thoſe of the ancient ſuperſtition, and the modern reformation; and theſe being at enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Beſide, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his ſide, by the grants he had made them of the lands of which he had deſpoiled the monaſteries. It was eaſy for him, therefore to quell the various inſurrections which his arbitrary conduct produced, as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any foreſight, but merely the tumultuary efforts of anguiſh. However, many ſuffered on the account. Beſides, one Aſke, a gentleman, who led the firſt inſurrection, lord Darcy, Sir Robert Conſtable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, and William Lumley were condemned and executed. Henry put no bounds to his cruelties; and the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward the ſixth, with the death of the queen, who ſurvived this joyful occaſion but two days, made but a ſmall pauſe in his fierce ſeverity.

In

* In the midſt of theſe commotions, the fires of Smithfield were ſeen to blaze with unuſual fierceneſs. Thoſe who adhered to the pope, or thoſe who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national ſyſtems of belief, moſtly drawn up by Henry himſelf, few knew what to think, or what to profeſs. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconſiſtent or contradictory ſoever; but as he was continually changing them himſelf, they could hardly purſue ſo faſt as he advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, now a royal favourite, together with Cranmer, favoured the reformation. On the other hand, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, together with the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original ſuperſtition. Henry ſubmitted to neither; his pride had long been ſo enflamed by flattery, that he thought himſelf intitled to regulate by his own ſingle opinion, the faith of the whole nation.

§ In this univerſal terror, during which the ſeverities of one man were ſufficient to keep millions in awe, a poor ſchoolmaſter in London, ſtood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himſelf. This man's name was John Lambert, who hearing doctor Taylor preach upon the real preſence in the ſacrament, preſented him with his reaſons againſt it. The paper was carried to Cranmer and Latimer, who were then of the

* A. D. 1537. Oct. 12. § A. D. 1538.

opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to it. But Lambert remained ſteady; and inſtead of recanting, appealed to the king himſelf. This pleaſed Henry's vanity, and willing at once to exert his ſupremacy and diſplay his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended diſputation. For this purpoſe, ſcaffolds were erected in in Weſtminſter-Hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty. The prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left. The judges, and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops; the courtiers of the greateſt diſtinction, behind the peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly, with not one creature to defend or ſupport him. The biſhop of Cheſter opened the conference by declaring that the king, notwithſtanding any ſlight alterations he had made in the rites of the church, was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith; and to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all departure from it. After this preamble, ſufficient to terrify the boldeſt diſputant, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of tranſubſtantiation. When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majeſty, Henry rejected his praiſe with diſdain. He afterwards entered upon the diſcuſſion of that abſtruſe queſtion; and endeavoured to preſs Lambert with argu-

arguments drawn from the ſcriptures and the ſchoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to ſecond him with their applauſe and admiration. Lambert, no way diſcouraged, was not ſlow to reply; but here Cranmer ſtept in and ſeconded the king's proofs by ſome new topics. Gardiner entered the liſts in ſupport of Cranmer; Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal. Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field againſt the poor ſolitary diſputer, who for five hours, attempted to vindicate his doctrines, till at laſt fatigued and brow-beaten he was reduced to ſilence. The king then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he choſe to gain life by recantation or to die for his obſtinacy? Lambert no way intimidated, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency; to which Henry replied, "that he would never protect an heretic; and, therefore, if that was his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames." Lambert, no way terrified, heard Cromwell read the ſentence, by which he was condemned to be burnt alive, with the utmoſt compoſure; and as if his perſecutors were reſolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his puniſhment as painful as they could. He was, therefore burned at a ſlow fire, his legs and thighs being firſt conſumed; yet he continued to cry out, "None but Chriſt! None but Chriſt!" till he was wholly conſumed.

This poor man's death ſeemed to be only a ſignal for that of many more. Flattery had given the king ſuch an opinion of his own

bility, that he now resolved to punish rigorously all those who should presume to differ from him in point of opinion, without making any distinction between Catholic and Lutheran. Soon after, no less than five hundred persons were imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the bloody statute; and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. Dr. Barnes also, who had been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, by the just judgment of God, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames. With Barnes were executed one Gerrard, and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three Catholics, also, whose names were Abel, Featherstone, and Powel, were dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was, the being coupled with such heretical miscreants.

* During these horrid transactions, Henry was resolved to take another queen, and, after some negotiation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a most scrupulous examination on his side, of the lady's personal accomplishments. He was assured by his envoy that she was of a very large person, which was the more pleasing to him, as he was at that time himself become very corpulent, and consequently required a similar

* A. D. 1539.

ſimilar figure in a wife. He was ſtill further allured by her picture, in which Holbein, who drew it, was, it ſeems, more a friend to his art than to truth. The king, upon her landing went privately to meet her at Rocheſter, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wiſh; but utterly devoid of grace and beauty; ſhe could alſo ſpeak but one language, her native German; ſo that her converſation could never recompence the defects of her perſon. He ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and added that he could never ſettle his affections upon her. However, ſenſible that he would greatly diſoblige her brother the duke, and conſequently all the German princes in his alliance, he reſolved to marry her; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly inſtrumental in this affair, that ſince he had gone ſo far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it coſt him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated; but the king's diſguſt was only encreaſed by it; he told Cromwell the next morning, that he hated her more than ever. Cromwell ſaw the danger he had incurred by having been inſtrumental in forming this union; but he endeavoured by his aſſiduity, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he ſhould have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's averſion to the queen encreaſed every day; and he at length reſolved to get rid of her, and his prime miniſter together. The fall of

this favourite was long and ardently wished for. The nobility hated a man, who from such mean beginnings, was placed before the first persons in the kingdom; for beside being made vicar-general, which gave him almost absolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-seal, lord chamberlain, and master of the wards. He had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had hitherto been conferred only on the most illustrious families; and to carry his exaltation still higher, he had been made earl of Essex. The protestants disliked him for his concurrence in their persecution; and the papists as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to hasten or retard his punishment. And he had a strong cause of dislike to him for his late unpropitious alliance; and a new motive was soon added for his displeasure. † He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, discarding the present queen. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy him. He therefore made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell for high treason. His disgrace was no sooner known, than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed

† A. D. 1540.

ſumed to offer. However, he was accuſed in parliament of hereſy and treaſon; and without being ever heard in his own defence, condemned to ſuffer the pains of death, as the king ſhould think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude ſeemed to forſake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; and ſubſcribed his epiſtle, "from the king's moſt miſerable priſoner and poor ſlave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy."

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his ſofter feelings, he ſigned the warrant for beheading him upon Tower-Hill. A few days after his death, a number of people were executed together upon very different accuſations. Some for having denied the king's ſupremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had ſome time before privately eſpouſed. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the ſubſequent events for a while turned out to their wiſh. The king's councils being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious perſecution commenced againſt the proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour; ſo that a foreigner, who was then reſiding in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were

hanged. The king, with an oſtentatious impartiality, infuſed terror into every breaſt.

But the meaſure of his ſeverities was not yet filled up. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage. He was ſo captivated with the queen's accompliſhments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and deſired his confeſſor to join with him in the ſame thankſgiving. This joy, however, was of very ſhort duration. While the king was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Laſcelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's ſiſter, who had been ſervant to the dutcheſs-dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very ſurprizing account of the queen. He averred that ſhe led a very lewd life before her marriage, carrying on a ſcandalous correſpondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that ſhe continued to indulge herſelf in the ſame criminal pleaſures ſince ſhe had been raiſed to her preſent greatneſs. Cranmer was equally ſurprized and embarraſſed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and ſome other members of the privy-council, who adviſed him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbiſhop knew the hazard he ran by intermeddling in ſuch delicate points; but he alſo knew the dangers he incurred by ſuppreſſing his information. He therefore reſolved to communicate what he had heard to writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he ſhortly after delivered into the king's own hand, deſiring

deſiring his majeſty to read it in private. Henry at firſt diſbelieved the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-ſeal to examine Lafcelles, who perſiſted in his former narrative; and even produced his ſiſter to confirm his account. Upon this, Derham and Mannock were arreſted, and they quickly confeſſed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinency. They went ſtill farther, by impeaching the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental in procuring the death of Anna Boleyn. They alledged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bedchamber, who ſtayed with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was firſt examined, ſhe denied the charge; but afterwards finding that her accomplices were her accuſers, ſhe confeſſed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having diſhonoured the king's bed ſince their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her ſecrets, ſtill further alledged her guilt; and ſome of them confeſſed having paſt the night in the ſame bed with her and her lovers. The king was ſo affected at this diſcovery, that he burſt into a flood of tears. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper, were convicted and executed; but he was reſolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always ſhewn themſelves the ready miniſters of all his ſeverities.

‖ Theſe ſervile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's crime and confeſſion, found her quickly guilty, and petitioned the king that ſhe might be puniſhed with death; that

‖ A. D. 1542.

that the ſame penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grand-mother, the dutcheſs dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, men and women, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, ſhould participate in her puniſhment. With this petition the king was graciouſly pleaſed to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the ſame time, made it capital for all perſons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was alſo enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this abſurd and brutal ſtatute; and it was ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was beheaded on Tower Hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compaſſion, as ſhe had herſelf before tampered in blood. The public exclaimed ſo loudly againſt the ſeverity of the act, which brought in ſo many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute ſentence upon them, though ſome of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, ſhewn that he was abandoned to all ideas of juſtice, morals, or humanity, at laſt took it into his head to compoſe a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his

his ſubjects ſhould for the future regulate all their belief and actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpoſe, in which all ſpiritual ſupremacy was declared to be veſted in him, he publiſhed a ſmall volume ſoon after, called the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the abſtruſe points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are encreaſed to their original number of ſeven. But the king was not long ſatisfied with this code of belief; for he ſoon after procured a new book to be compoſed, called The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, which he publiſhed upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a good deal from the former, yet he was no leſs poſitive in requiring aſſent to it.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrolled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refuſed to aſſiſt him with a benevolence, was preſſed as a private ſoldier, and ſent to ſerve in an army which was levied againſt an incurſion of the Scotch. In this manner, all who oppoſed his will were either preſſed or impriſoned; happy if they eſcaped with ſuch ſlight puniſhments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the ſame force as ſtatutes; and to facilitate the execution of this act, by which all ſhadow of liberty

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was removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy council ſhould form a legal court for puniſhing diſobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to iſſue a proclamation to deſtroy the lives, or take away the properties, of any of his ſubjects!

In about a year after the death of the laſt queen, || Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying his ſixth and laſt wife, Catherine Parr, who was, in fact, a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer; and was conſidered as a woman of diſcretion and virtue. She was already paſſed the meridian of life, and managed this capricious tyrant's temper with prudence. His amiable days had long been over; he was almoſt choaked with fat, and had contracted a moroſe air, very far from inſpiring affection. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſo gained his confidence, that ſhe was appointed regent of the kingdom during his abſence in France, whither he paſſed over at the head of thirty thouſand men, to proſecute a war which had been declared between him and the French king. He there behaved, as in all his former undertakings, with ineffectual oſtentation. Inſtead of marching into the heart of the country, he ſat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and his ally, the emperor, making a ſeparate peace, Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his ſubjects ready to praiſe him for an enterprize in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquiſition that was of no manner of benefit.

But

|| A. D. 1543.

* But of all his ſubjects none ſeemed more abandoned and baſely ſervile than the parliament. Upon his return from his expenſive French expedition, after profeſſions of profound acknowledgement, they granted him a ſubſidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the moſt diſtant poſterity. By one vote they beſtowed upon him all the revenues of the two univerſities, as well as of ſome other places of education and public worſhip. But rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from ſpoiling theſe venerable ſeminaries; however, they owed their ſafety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this baſe and degenerate parliament. Nor was he leſs juſt upon another occaſion, with regard to the ſuggeſtions of his council, who had long conceived an hatred againſt Cranmer. This juſt and moderate man had all along owed his ſafety to his integrity; and ſcorning intrigue himſelf, was the leſs liable to be circumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long repreſented to the king, that Cranmer was the ſecret cauſe of the diviſions which tore the nation, as his example and ſupport were the chief props of hereſy. Henry, deſirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wiſhes, and ordered the council to make enquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his diſgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends who, from mercenary motives, had been attached to him, now began to treat him

* A. D. 1544.

him with mortifying neglect; he was obliged to ſtand ſeveral hours among the ſervants at the door of the council-chamber before they deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to ſend him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated by their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him to make uſe of upon that emergency. The council was confounded; and ſtill more ſo when the king ſeverely reproved them, and Cranmer was taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace as a ſign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more ſincere on his part than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances.

§ Still, however, the king's ſeverity to the reſt of his ſubjects continued as fierce as ever. For ſome time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence, and other infirmities, encreaſed his natural iraſcibility to ſuch a degree that ſcarce any, even of his domeſtics, approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion, ſhould, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Among the many whoſe ſufferings excite our pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Aſkew deſerves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, was married to a gentleman in Lincolnſhire, and con-

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§ A. D. 1546.

nected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is said that she kept up a secret correspondence with the queen herself, who secretly favoured the reformation; and this correspondence only served to hasten her ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, she happened to differ from the established code of belief, particularly in the article of the real presence; and, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex and age, she was thrown into prison. In this situation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, she employed her time in composing prayers and discourses, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor was sent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but she would accuse none. In consequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but she still continued resolute, and her silence testified her contempt of their cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this punishment, to stretch the rack still harder; which he refusing to do, the chancellor grasped the cord himself, and drew it so violently, that her body was almost torn asunder. But her constancy was greater than the barbarity of her persecutors; so that at length she was condemned to be burned alive. She received this sentence with a transport of joy, and as a release from pain to the greatest felicity. As all her joints had been dislocated by the rack, so that she could not stand, she was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her, were brought Nicholas Belenian,

Belenian a prieſt, John Laſſals of the king's houſhold, and John Adams a taylor, who had all been condemned for the ſame crime. They were tied to the ſtake; and in that dreadful ſituation informed, that upon recanting, they ſhould be granted their lives. But they refuſed a life that was to be gained by ſuch proſtitution; and they ſaw, with tranquility, the executioner kindle the flames which conſumed them.

From this indiſcriminate ſeverity the queen was not herſelf entirely ſecure. She had for ſome time attended the king in his indiſpoſition, and endeavoured to ſooth him by her arts and aſſiduity. His favourite topic of converſation was theology, and Catharine, would now and then enter into a debate with him, upon many tenets, that were in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provoked that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, made complaints of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to enflame the quarrel. Articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be ſigned; but in returning home, he happened to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen, that the perſon who found it was in her intereſts; it was immediately carried to her, and the contents ſoon made her ſenſible of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed. In this exigence, ſhe was reſolved to work upon the king; and paying him her cuſtomary viſit, he led her, as uſual to the ſubject of theology, which at firſt ſhe ſeemed

to decline, but in which ſhe afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the courſe of her converſation, however, ſhe gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking, was to receive his inſtructions, that it was not for her to ſet her opinions in oppoſition to thoſe that ſerved to direct the nation; but ſhe alledged, ſhe could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which ſerved, for a time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry was charmed at this diſcovery; "and is it ſo, ſweet heart, cried he, then we are perfect friends again." Juſt after this, the chancellor made his appearance, with forty purſuivants at his heels, to take the queen into cuſtody. But the king advanced to meet him; and expoſtulated with him in the ſevereſt terms. The queen could overhear the terms, knave, fool, beaſt, which he very liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate. When he was gone, ſhe interpoſed in his defence; but the king could not help ſaying, "Poor ſoul, you know not how little intitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction; he was contented to ſuffer the divines to diſpute, and the executioner to deſtroy. The fires accordingly were kindled againſt the heretics of both ſides as uſual, during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently aſſemble the houſes of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people; nor ever people had

a greater affection for their king. In every pauſe of theſe extraordinary orations, ſome would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations, from all the reſt of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the leſs frequent. His reſentments were diffuſed indiſcriminately to all; at one time a proteſtant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his ſeverity. The duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the earl of Surry, were the laſt that felt the injuſtice of his groundleſs ſuſpicions. The duke was a nobleman who had ſerved the king with talents and fidelity; his ſon was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, who excelled in every accompliſhment that became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes, which were then in requeſt; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and it is remarkable, that he was the firſt who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. Theſe qualifications, however, were no ſafeguard to him againſt Henry's ſuſpicions; he had dropt ſome expreſſions of reſentment againſt the king's miniſters, upon being diſplaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catharine Howard. From theſe motives, private orders were given to arreſt the father and ſon; and accordingly they were arreſted both on the ſame day, and committed to the Tower. Surry was tried firſt, and as to proofs, there were

were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence. The Dutchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own sister, enlisted herself among the number of his accusers; and Sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would seem that at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation; Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him; and it was alledged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon. To this he could make no reply; and indeed any answer would have been needless, for neither parliaments nor juries, during this reign, were guided by any other proofs, but the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-Hill. * In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but the monster's hard heart was only subject to tender impressions. The parliament, meeting on the fourteenth of January, a bill of attainder was found against the duke of Norfolk; as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accusers could alledge against him was, that he had once said, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending

* A. D. 1547.

tending parties of different perſuaſions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an oppoſite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in ſo unjuſt a proſecution; but retired to his ſeat at Croydon. However, the death-warrant was made out, and immediately ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death; the following morning was to be his laſt; but an event of greater conſequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for ſome time approaching faſt towards his end; and for ſeveral days all thoſe about his perſon plainly ſaw that his ſpeedy death was inevitable. The diſorder in his leg was extremely painful; and this added to his monſtrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to ſtir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had been ever ſtern and ſevere; he was now outragious. In this ſtate he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himſelf. In this manner therefore, he was ſuffered to ſtruggle, without any of his domeſtics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once during this reign, perſons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At laſt Sir Anthony Denny had the courage to diſcloſe to him this dreadful ſecret; and, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he received the tidings with an expreſſion of reſignation. His anguiſh and remorſe were at this time greater than can be expreſſed; he deſired the

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Cranmer might be ſent for; but before that prelate could arrive, he was ſpeechleſs. He expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years, and nine months, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; ſome from being miſled by favourites, and ſome from a ſpirit of party. But Henry was cruel from a depraved diſpoſition; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. A perſon of fewer virtues, and more horrid vices ſcarce ever ſat on the Engliſh the throne. Yet our divines have taken ſome pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct, and our reformation had any connexion with each other. There is nothing ſo abſurd as to defend the one by the other; for the moſt noble deſigns may be brought about by the moſt vicious inſtruments.

With regard to foreign ſtates, Henry made ſome expeditions into France, which were attended with vaſt expence to the nation, and brought them no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourſe of friendſhip with Francis. Againſt the Scotch he was rather more ſucceſsful; his generals having worſted them on ſeveral occaſions. But that which gave England the greateſt aſcendency over that nation, was the ſpirit of concord which ſoon after ſeemed to prevail between the two kingdoms; and that ſeemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the ſame ſovereign. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was moſtly confined to the Netherlands.

The merchants of the Low-Countries bought the Engliſh commodities and diſtributed them into the other parts of Europe. Theſe commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it muſt be obſerved at this time that foreign artificers much ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in dexterity, induſtry, and frugality; and it is ſaid, that at one time not leſs than fifteen thouſand artizans of the Flemiſh nation alone were ſettled in London.

CHAP. X.

EDWARD VI.

*HENRY the eighth was ſucceeded by his only ſon Edward, now nine years and three months old. The late king in his will, fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his fifteenth year; and in the mean time appointed ſixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entruſted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was ſoon diſcovered; for the firſt act of the executors was to chuſe the earl of Hertford, who was after-

* A. D. 1547.

afterwards made duke of Somerſet, protector of the realm; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy council.

This was a favourable ſeaſon for thoſe of the reformed religion; and the eyes of the late king were no ſooner cloſed, than all of that perſuaſion congratulated themſelves on the event. They no longer ſuppreſſed their ſentiments, but maintained their doctrines openly. The protector had long been regarded as the ſecret partizan of the reformers; and, being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to expreſs his intention of correcting all the abuſes of the ancient religion. His power was not a little ſtrengthened by his ſucceſs againſt an incurſion of the Scotch: and the popularity which he gained upon this occaſion, ſeconded his views in the propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerſet did not ſtand in need of the popularity acquired in this manner, as he was humble, civil, affable, and courteous to the meaneſt ſuitor, and all his actions were directed by motives of piety and honour.

In his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, he had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, and prudence, was averſe to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people gently. The perſon who oppoſed it with the greateſt authority, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board, yet from his age, experience and capacity, was regarded by moſt

men with veneration. Upon a general viſitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the uſe of images; he even wrote an apology for holy water; and particularly alledged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This oppoſition drew on him the indignation of the council; and he and biſhop Bonner were ſent to the Fleet priſon, but releaſed not long after.

Theſe internal regulations were in ſome meaſure retarded by the war with Scotland, which ſtill continued. But a defeat, which that nation ſuffered at Muſſelborough, in which above twelve thouſand periſhed in the field of battle, induced them to ſue for peace; and the protector returned to ſettle the buſineſs of the reformation. While he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of ſeveral noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king his nephew, to ſit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges which had uſually been granted the uncles of kings in England. However, he ſtill drove on his favourite ſchemes of reformation. The cup was reſtored to the laity in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; private maſſes were aboliſhed, and the king was empowered to create biſhops by letters patent. It was enacted alſo, that all who denied the king's ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer impriſon-

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ment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, incur the pain of premunire, and for the third be attainted of treaſon. || Orders were ſoon after iſſued by the council that candles ſhould no longer be carried about on Candlemas day, aſhes on Aſh Wedneſday, nor palms on Palm Sunday. Theſe were ancient ſuperſtitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to reſtrain. An order alſo was iſſued for the removal of all images from the churches.

But theſe innovations were not brought about without ſome ſtruggles at home, while the protector was employed againſt the Scotch, who united with, and ſeconded by France, ſtill puſhed on their inroads with unremitting animoſity. Beſides, there was ſtill an enemy worſe than any of the former; this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud turbulent and untractable. This nobleman could not endure the diſtinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence, ſhe married him immediately upon the deceaſe of the late king. This match was particularly diſpleaſing to the elder brother's wife, who now ſaw that while her huſband had the precedency in one place, ſhe was obliged to yield it in another. His next ſtep was to make a party among the nobility, who fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domeſtics, and young Edward frequently

|| A. D. 1548.

quently went to his houſe, on pretence of viſiting the queen. There he ingratiated himſelf with his ſovereign, by ſupplying him with money to diſtribute among his ſervants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. In the protector's abſence with the army in Scotland, he redoubled all his arts and inſinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget perceiving the progreſs he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the protector on the ſubject, who finiſhed the campaign in Scotland with all poſſible diſpatch, that he might return to counter-work his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, the admiral had engaged in his party ſeveral of the principal nobility, and prevailed on the king himſelf to write a letter to the parliament with his own hand, deſiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor. The council being apprized of his ſchemes, ſent deputies to aſſure him, that if he did not deſiſt they would deprive him of his office, and proſecute him on the laſt act of parliament, by which he was ſubject to the penalty of high treaſon, for attempting to diſturb the peace of the government. It was not without ſome ſevere ſtruggles within himſelf, and ſome menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to ſubmit, and deſired to be reconciled to his brother. Yet he ſtill nouriſhed the ſame deſigns, which his brother ſuſpecting, employed ſpies to inform him of all his tranſactions.

But nothing could ſhake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. * His ſpouſe, the queen-

* A. D. 1549.

queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repreſſing his ſchemes, only ſeemed to promote them. He made his addreſſes to the Princeſs Elizabeth, tho' her father had excluded her the ſucceſſion, in caſe ſhe married without the conſent of council. The admiral, however, hoped to get over that objection; and gave reaſon to believe that he aimed at regal authority. He brought over many of the principal nobility to his party; he neglected not popular perſons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could on occaſion command the ſervice of ten thouſand men. He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts Sir John Sharrington, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting,

Somerſet being well aſcertained of all this, endeavoured by every expedient to draw him from his deſigns. He reaſoned, he threatened, he heaped new favours upon him; but all to no purpoſe. At laſt he reſolved to make uſe of the laſt remedy, and to attaint his own brother of high treaſon. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ſigned a warrant for committing him to he Tower. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow; he offered once more to be ſincerely reconciled, if he was contented to ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement. But finding himſelf unable to work on his inflexible temper, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty three articles; and the whole to be brought into parliament. The charge being brought

firſt into the houſe of lords, ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. In the houſe of commons too, the bill paſſed in a very full houſe, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten againſt it. The ſentence was ſoon after executed, by beheading him on Tower-Hill. This ſeems to have been ſuch a ſtretch of power in the Protector as cannot be defended.

This obſtacle being removed, the protector went on to reform religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of biſhops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the ſervice of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation and accuracy. A law was alſo enacted, permitting prieſts to marry; the ceremony of auricular confeſſion, though not aboliſhed, was left at the diſcretion of the people, who were not diſpleaſed at being freed from the ſpiritual tyranny of their inſtructors; the doctrine of the real preſence was the laſt tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce ſo miraculous a benefit, as it was aſſerted to be. However, at laſt, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the Catholic religion, contrary to ſcripture, were aboliſhed; and the reformation, ſuch as we have it, was almoſt completed in England. With all theſe innovations the people and clergy in general acquieſced; and Gardiner and Bonner, were the only perſons whoſe oppoſition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, ſent to the Tower,

Tower, and threatened with the king's further diſpleaſure in caſe of diſobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they ſtopt at impriſonment only. They alſo became perſecutors in turn; and although the very ſpirit of their doctrines aroſe from a freedom of thinking, yet they could not bear that any ſhould controvert what they had been at ſo much pains to eſtabliſh. A commiſſion was granted to the primate and ſome others, to ſearch after all anabaptiſts, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to incur guilt upon this occaſion, was one Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She had maintained an abſtruſe ſentiment, that Chriſt, as man, was a ſinful man; but as the Word, he was free from ſin, and could be ſubject to none of the frailties of the fleſh with which he was cloathed. For maintaining this doctrine, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt as an heretic. The young king, who it ſeems had more ſenſe than his miniſters, refuſed to ſign the death warrant; but being at laſt preſſed by Cranmer, and vanquiſhed by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring, that if he did wrong, the ſin ſhould be on the head of thoſe who had perſuaded him to it. Some time after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accuſed of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment.

Although the changes in religion were for the benefit of the nation, yet they were attended with many inconveniences. When the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their ſubſiſtence

by their labour; ſo that all kinds of buſineſs were overſtocked. The lands of the monaſteries, alſo, had been farmed out formerly to the common people, ſo as to employ a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now theſe lands being poſſeſſed by the nobility, the rents were raiſed; and the farmers perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into paſture. In conſequence of this, the price of meal aroſe, to the unſpeakable hardſhip of the lower claſs of people. Beſide, as few hands were required to manage a paſture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of ſubſiſtence, while the nation was filled with murmurs againſt the nobility, who were conſidered as the ſources of the general calamity. To add to theſe complaints, the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to incloſe their eſtates; while the tenants, regarded as an uſeleſs burthen, were expelled their habitations. Even cottages, deprived of the commons on which they fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery; and a great decay of people as well as a diminution of proviſions, was obſerved in every part of the kingdom. To add to this general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported; while a baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not diſburſe at an equal advantage. Thus an univerſal ſtagnation of commerce took place; and

and nothing but complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſufferers. He appointed commiſſioners to examine whether the poſſeſſors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which thoſe lands had been ſold by the crown; and ordered all late incloſures to be laid open to an appointed day. As the object of this commiſſion was very diſagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal; while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redreſs, roſe in great numbers, and ſought a remedy by force of arms. The riſing began at once, in ſeveral parts of England, as if an univerſal conſpiracy had been formed. The rebels in Wiltſhire, were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert; thoſe of Oxford and Glouceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton; the commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Norfolk were the moſt obſtinate. In the firſt of theſe counties, the inſurgents amounted to ten thouſand men, headed by one Humphry Arundel, an experienced ſoldier, and demanded an abolition of the ſtatutes lately made in favour of the reformation. The miniſtry rejected their demands with contempt, at the ſame time offering a pardon to all that would lay down their arms. But the inſurgents were now too far advanced to recede; they laid ſiege to Exeter, carrying before them croſſes, banners, holy-water, candleſticks, and other

implements of their ancient ſuperſtition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Ruſſel was ſent againſt them; and being reinforced by lord Gray and others, he attacked, and drove them from all their entrenchments. Arundel, their leader, and ſeveral others, were ſent to London, where they were condemned and executed.

The ſedition at Norfolk appeared ſtill more alarming. The inſurgents there amounted to twenty thouſand men; and as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing new counſellors about the king, and the eſtabliſhment of their ancient rights. One Ket, a tanner, had aſſumed the priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the ſiege of Norwich, which having reduced, he impriſoned the mayor, and ſome of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent againſt them but met with a repulſe; the earl of Warwick followed, at the head of ſix thouſand men, and put them entirely to the rout. Two thouſand of them fell in the fight and purſuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich Caſtle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the inſurrection, which was the laſt in favour of popery, was thus entirely ſuppreſſed.

But though the ſuppreſſion of theſe inſurrections ſeemed favourable to the protector, yet

yet the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk, terminated in Somerſet's ruin. Of all the miniſters at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the moſt artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Reſolved at any rate to poſſeſs the principal place, he cared not what means he uſed in acquiring it. However, he covered the moſt exorbitant views under the faireſt appearances. Having aſſociated himſelf with the earl of Southampton, he formed a ſtrong party in the council, who were determined to free themſelves from the controul of the protector. He was now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his power; he was hated by the Catholic party for his regard to the Reformation; he was diſliked by many for his ſeverity to his brother, and the great eſtate he had raiſed rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was building in the Strand, ſerved alſo by its magnificence, and ſtill more by the methods that were taken to raiſe it, to expoſe him to the cenſures of the public. The pariſh church of St. Mary, with three biſhops houſes, were pulled down to furniſh ground and materials for the ſtructure.

Theſe imprudencies were exaggerated by Somerſet's enemies. They repreſented him as a ſacrilegious tyrant, and an uſurper upon the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In conſequence of this, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton and Arundel, with five

five councellors more, met at Ely-Houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, requiring their aſſiſtance. They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their meaſures. The next day ſeveral others of the council joined them; and the protector now began to tremble.

He ſent the king to Windſor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windſor for his ſecurity. But perceiving that he was in a manner, deſerted by all, he reſolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave freſh confidence to the party of Warwick; they aſſured the king, that their only aim was to reſcue him from the hands of a man who had aſſumed all power to himſelf. The king gave their addreſs a favourable reception; and the protector was ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards earl of Saliſbury. Mean while the council ordered ſix lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the firſt time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full ſplendor; he ſet himſelf forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin, and aſſumed the reins of government.

It was now ſuppoſed that Somerſet's fate was fixed. The chief article of which he was accuſed, was his uſurpation of the government. * For which a bill of attainder was

* A. D. 1550.

was preferred againſt him in the houſe of lords. He had confeſſed the charge before the members of the council: and this confeſſion, which he ſigned with his own hand, was read at the bar of the houſe; in conſequence of which he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his eſtate, which was forfeited to the crown. But this fine was ſoon after remitted by the king; he once more contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty, and not long after, he was even re-admitted into the council.

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and entertained hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were miſtaken in their opinion of Warwick; ambition was his only principle; and to that he reſolved to ſacrifice all others. He ſoon permitted Gardiner to undergo the penalties preſcribed againſt diſobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the reſt, though they made ſome compliances, were ſtill addicted to their ancient communion. A reſolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their ſees; and it was thought proper to begin with him. † The council ſent him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe, among which was one, acknowledging the juſtice of his confinement. He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to

† A. D. 1551.

to all the articles, except that by which he accuſed himſelf, which he refuſed to do, juſtly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or diſhonour him. So he was deprived of his biſhopric, committed to cloſe cuſtody; his books and papers were ſeized; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the uſe of pen and ink. This ſeverity, in ſome meaſure, countenanced thoſe which this prelate retaliated when he came into power.

But the rapacious courtiers, never to be ſatisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the ſame manner, Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, Heathe of Worceſter, and Voiſy of Exeter. The biſhops of Landaff, Saliſbury, and Coventry came off, by ſacrificing the moſt conſiderable ſhare of their revenues. And not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries alſo, underwent a dreadful ſcrutiny. The libraries of Weſtminſter and Oxford were ordered to be purged of the Romiſh miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious volumes; in which ſearch great devaſtation was made even in uſeful literature. Many volumes claſped in ſilver were deſtroyed for the ſake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to be magical, and met no mercy. The univerſity, unable to ſtop the fury of theſe barbarians, ſilently looked on, and trembled for its own ſecurity.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with theſe humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the reformation, he ſuppoſed he could not make his court better than by a ſeeming

ing zeal in the cauſe. But he was ſtill ſtedfaſtly bent on enlarging his own power; and as the laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue or heirs, Warwick procured for himſelf a grant of his ample poſſeſſions, and obtained the title alſo of the duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerſet was now the only perſon he wiſhed to have entirely removed; for fallen as he was, he ſtill preſerved a ſhare of popularity. And he was not always upon his guard againſt the arts of Northumberland; but could not now and then help invectives, which were quickly carried to his enemy. He ſoon found the fatal effects of his reſentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arreſted with many more, and was, with his wife the dutcheſs, thrown into priſon. He was ſoon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, who ſat as high-ſteward, with twenty-ſeven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accuſers. He was accuſed with an intention to ſecure the perſon of the king, to re-aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs, and aſſaſſinate the duke of Northumberland. Of the firſt part of the charge, he was acquitted; but he was found guilty of conſpiring the death of a privy-counſellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign of Henry the ſeventh; and for this he was condemned to be hanged. The populace ſeeing him reconveyed to the Tower without the ax, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted; and in repeated ſhouts and acclamations manifeſted their

their joy; but this was ſuddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Care in the mean time had been taken to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt his uncle; and leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends. * At laſt the priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he appeared, without the leaſt emotion, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He ſpoke to them with great compoſure, proteſting that he had always promoted the ſervice of his king, and the intereſts of true religion, to the beſt of his power. The people atteſted their belief of what he ſaid, by crying out, "It is moſt true." An univerſal tumult was beginning to take place; but Somerſet deſiring them to be ſtill, and not to interrupt his laſt meditations, but to join with him in prayer, laid down his head, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, were beheaded as his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the deſtroying Somerſet, who, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, yet ſtill conſulted the good of the people. The houſe of commons was particularly attached to him; and of this Northumberland was very ſenſible. He therefore reſolved to diſſolve that parliament, and call another that would be more obſequious to his will. || The members returned, fully anſwered Northumberland's

* A. D. 1552. || A. D. 1553.

berland's expectations. He had long aimed at the firſt authority; and the infirm ſtate of the king's health opened the proſpect to it. He repreſented to that young prince that his ſiſters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to ſucceed in failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots, his aunt, ſtood excluded by the king's will, that as the three princeſſes were thus legally excluded, the ſucceſſion naturally devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, whoſe next heir was the lady Jane Gray, a lady every way accompliſhed for government, as well by the charms of her perſon, as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long ſubmitted to all the views of this deſigning miniſter, agreed to have the ſucceſſion ſubmitted to council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an eaſy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the miniſter laboured to ſtrengthen his own intereſts. His firſt aim was to ſecure the intereſts of the marquis of Dorſet, father to Lady Jane Gray, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then propoſed a match between his fourth ſon, lord Guildford Dudley, and the lady Jane. Still bent on ſpreading his intereſts as widely as poſſible, he married his own daughter to lord Haſtings; and had theſe marriages ſolemnized with all poſſible pomp. Mean while, Edward continued to languiſh; and

ſeveral

ſeveral ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get the better of his diſorders; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by ſome, that his health was viſibly ſeen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his perſon. The character of Northumberland might have juſtly given ſome colour to ſuſpicion; and his removing all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king, ſtill farther increaſed the diſtruſts of the people. Northumberland, however, was aſſiduous in his attendance upon the king, and profeſſed the moſt anxious concern for his ſafety; but ſtill drove forward his darling ſcheme of transferring the ſucceſſion to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters patent for that purpoſe warmly objected to the meaſure. They ſaid, that the form was invalid, and would not only ſubject the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned it, to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and ſaid, that he would fight in his ſhirt with any man on ſo juſt a cauſe, as that of the lady Jane's ſucceſſion. A method was therefore found out of ſcreening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they ſhould draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and ſome refuſals, the patent for changing the ſucceſſion was completed. Mary and Elizabeth was ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heir

of the dutcheſs of Suffolk; for the dutcheſs herſelf was content to forego her claim.

Northumberland having thus far ſucceeded, thought phyſicians were no longer ſerviceable to the king; they were diſmiſſed by his advice; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed; he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid, and many ſymptoms appeared of approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all; as his early virtues gave a proſpect of the continuance of an happy reign. ‡ His underſtanding too, was amazing. He was ſaid to underſtand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages. He was verſed in logic, muſic, natural philoſophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary ſcholar, happening to pay a viſit to the Engliſh court, was ſo aſtoniſhed at his early progreſs, that he extols him as prodigy of nature. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as becomes a mortal, his gravity ſuch as became a King: He was of a beautiful aſpect: his eyes ſeemed to have a ſtarry luſtre and livelineſs in them. He knew all the harbours in his kingdom, with the depth of water, and entrance into them. He took notice of almoſt every thing which he heard, in greek characters, which he afterwards copied fair into his journal. Such a prodigy of underſtanding and virtue, was taken unſullied to the GOD whom he loved.

CHAP.

‡ July 6. A. D. 1553.

CHAP. XI.

MARY.

HENRY the Eighth, in his will, ſettled the ſucceſſion merely according to his caprice. Edward his ſon was the firſt nominated to ſucceed him; then Mary, his eldeſt daughter, by Catharine of Spain; but with a ſpecial mark of condeſcenſion, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the ſame marks, intimating her illegitimacy alſo. After his own children, his ſiſter's children were mentioned; his younger ſiſter the dutcheſs of Suffolk's iſſue were preferred before thoſe of their elder ſiſter the queen of Scotland, which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in juſtice, nor ſupported by reaſon. This will was ſet aſide by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whoſe advice a will was made, as we have ſeen, in favour of lady Jane Gray, the dutcheſs of Suffolk's daughter, in prejudice of all other claimants.

Mary

Mary was ſtrongly bigotted to the popiſh ſuperſtitions, having been bred up among church-men. As ſhe had lived in continual reſtraint, ſhe was reſerved and gloomy. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and ſhe was blindly attached to her religious opinions, and to the popiſh clergy. On the other hand, Jane Gray was ſtrongly attached to the reformers; and though yet but ſixteen, her judgment had attained to ſuch a degree of maturity, as few have been found to poſſeſs. All hiſtorians agree that the ſolidity of her underſtanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Aſcham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that coming once to wait upon lady Jane at her father's houſe in Leiceſterſhire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the reſt of the family were hunting in the Park. Upon his teſtifying his ſurprize, ſhe aſſured him that Plato was an higher amuſement to her than the moſt ſtudied refinements of ſenſual pleaſure; and ſhe, in fact, ſeemed born for wiſdom and virtue, not for ambition.

Such were the preſent rivals for power; but lady Jane had the ſtart of her antagoniſt. Northumberland now reſolving to ſecure the ſucceſſion, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of ſecuring the perſon of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illneſs; but being informed of his death, ſhe immediately prepared to aſſert her pretenſions to the crown. This crafty miniſter therefore, finding that farther diſſimulation was needleſs,

went

went to Sion-houſe, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to ſalute lady Jane Gray, who reſided there. Jane was ignorant of all theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurprize that ſhe received intelligence of them. She ſhed a flood of tears, and it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland, and her father. At length, however, they prevailed, and next day conveyed her to the Tower, where it was then uſual for the kings of England to paſs ſome days after their acceſſion. There the members of the council attended her; and were in ſome meaſure made priſoners by Northumberland. Orders were given alſo for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but theſe were but very remiſſly obeyed. When ſhe was proclaimed in the city, the people heard it without any ſigns of pleaſure, and ſome even expreſſed their ſcorn.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, ſent letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, commanding them to proclaim her without delay. She then retired to Framlingham-Caſtle in Suffolk, that ſhe might be near the ſea, in caſe of failure. But ſhe ſoon found her affairs wear a promiſing aſpect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and being aſſured by her, that ſhe would defend the laws and the religion of her predeceſſor, they enliſted themſelves in her cauſe with alacrity. The people of Norfolk ſoon after came in; the earls of Bath, and Suſſex, the

eldeſt

eldeſt ſons of lord Wharton, and lord Mordaunt joined her; and lord Haſtings, with four thouſand men, which were raiſed to oppoſe her, revolted to her ſide. Even a fleet that had been ſent to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk to prevent her eſcaping, engaged in her ſervice; and now, Northumberland ſaw the deplorable end of all his ſchemes.

This miniſter, with the conſent of the council, had aſſembled ſome troops at Newmarket, had ſet on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might himſelf continue with the council. But he was turned from this by conſidering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; ſo that he was obliged himſelf to take upon him the command. It was now, therefore, that the council being free from his influence, began to declare againſt him. Arundel led the oppoſition, by repreſenting the injuſtice and cruelty of Northumberland. The mayor and aldermen, who were ſent for, readily came into the ſame meaſures; the people expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts and applauſes; and even Suffolk himſelf, finding all reſiſtance fruitleſs, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary in a little time found herſelf at the head of forty thouſand men; while the few who attended Northumberland, continued irreſolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, finding, all was loſt, reſigned her royalty which ſhe had held but ten days, with marks of real ſatisfaction, and retired

with her mother to their own habitation. Northumberland, who found his affairs desperate, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct, in being led out against their lawful sovereign. His only resource now, was to recommend himself to Mary, by protestations of zeal in her service. He repaired the market-place in Cambridge, and proclaimed her queen of England, throwing up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from this; he was the next day arrested by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees, begging protection. His three sons, his brother, and some more of his followers were arrested with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Gray, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guilford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by all.

Northumberland was the first who suffered, and was the person who deserved punishment the most. At his execution, he owned himself a papist; and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, two infamous tools of his power, suffered with him. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane, and lord Guilford, but the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary

Mary now entered London, and ſaw herſelf joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably ſettled on the throne. This was the criſis of Britiſh happineſs; a queen whoſe right was the moſt equitable, the houſe of commons reinſtated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, peace abroad, and unanimity at home. This was the flattering proſpect of Mary's acceſſion, but this pleaſing phantom ſoon vaniſhed. Mary was moroſe, and a bigot; ſhe was reſolved to give back their former power to the clergy; and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had juſt emerged from. The queen had promiſed the men of Suffolk, who firſt declared in her favour, that ſhe would ſuffer religion to remain as ſhe found it. This promiſe, however, ſhe never intended to perform; ſhe had determined on bringing the people to her own ſentiments; and her extreme ignorance rendered her incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, were re-inſtated in their ſees. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence; which ſhe granted only to thoſe of her own perſuaſion.

The firſt ſteps that cauſed an alarm among the proteſtants, was the ſevere treatment of Cranmer, whoſe moderation, integrity, and virtues had made him dear even to moſt of the catholics. A report being ſpread, that

this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, he drew up a declaration, in which he cleared himſelf of the aſperſion. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and tried for concurring with the reſt of the council, to ſet aſide the rightful ſovereign. Sentence of high treaſon was, therefore, pronounced againſt him; but he was reſerved for a more dreadful puniſhment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, ſeeing how things were likely to go, deſired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had eſcaped, was wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred ſome years before at Oxford. It was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones alſo of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants, took early precautions to leave the kingdom; and many of the arts and manufactures, which they ſucceſsfully advanced fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called ſoon after, concurred in all her meaſures; they at one blow repealed all the ſtatutes with regard to religion, which had paſſed during the reign of her predeceſſor: ſo that the national religion was again placed on the ſame footing, on which it ſtood at the death of Henry the eighth.

Meantime

Meantime the queen's miniſters were willing to ſtrengthen her power by a catholic alliance. The perſon they thought of, was Philip, prince of Spain, and ſon of the celebrated Charles the fifth. ‡ The articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as poſſible to the intereſts and honour of England; and this in ſome meaſure ſtilled the clamours that had already been begun againſt it. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that her iſſue ſhould inherit, together with England, Burgundy, and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die, the queen's iſſue ſhould then enjoy all the dominions poſſeſſed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foreſaw great changes in the ſyſtem of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no iſſue.

The people, however, loudly murmured againſt it, and a flame of diſcontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman catholic, at the head of four thouſand inſurgents, marched from Kent to Hyde Park, publiſhing, as he went forward, a declaration againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match. But as he marched forward through the city of London, care was taken to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown acroſs,

‡ A. D. 1554.

and guards placed at all the avenues to prevent his return. So that he ſoon found he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. And he now perceived that the citizens would not join him; ſo loſing all courage he ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The duke of Suffolk had joined in a confederacy with Sir Peter Carew, to make an inſurrection in the counties of Kent, Warwick, and Leiceſter. His confederate roſe in arms before the day appointed; Suffolk endeavoured to excite his dependants; but was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers; and being diſcovered in his retreat was led priſoner to London, where, together with Wyatt, and ſeventy perſons more, he ſuffered by the hand of the executioner.

But what excited the compaſſion of the people moſt, was the execution of lady Jane Gray, and her huſband lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the puniſhment, tho' not in the guilt, of this inſurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her huſband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before ſeen the threatened blow, was no way ſurprized at the meſſage; and being informed that ſhe had three days to prepare, ſhe ſeemed diſpleaſed at ſo long a delay. On the day of her execution, her huſband deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but this ſhe refuſed, as ſhe knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withſtand. The place at firſt deſigned for their execution was without the Tower; but

their

their youth, beauty, and innocence being likely to raiſe an inſurrection among the people, orders were given that they ſhould be executed within the verge of the Tower. Lord Dudley was the firſt that ſuffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headleſs body of her huſband ſtreaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower-chapel. She looked on the corpſe for ſome time without any emotion; and then with a ſigh, deſired them to proceed. John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in Engliſh, importing, that ſhe hoped God and poſterity would do him and their cauſe juſtice. On the Scaffold ſhe made a ſpeech, in which ſhe alledged that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy; that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than filial obedience: that ſhe willingly accepted death as the only atonement ſhe could make to the injured ſtate; and was ready by her puniſhment to ſhew, that innocence is no plea in excuſe for deeds that tend to injure the community. After ſpeaking to this effect, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted to the executioner.

The queen being now freed from apprehenſions of an inſurrection, aſſembled a parliament, to give countenance to her ſeverities. The nobles, whoſe only religion was that of the prince, were eaſily gained over; and the houſe of commons had long been paſſive under all the variations of regal caprice. But there was a new enemy ſtarted up againſt the reformers in the perſon of the king, who, though he took all poſſible care to conceal his averſion, yet ſecretly inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for ſome time been come over; and had uſed every endeavour to increaſe the power allowed him by parliament, but without effect. The queen, indeed, who loved him with a fooliſh fondneſs, endeavoured to pleaſe him by every conceſſion ſhe could make or procure; and finding herſelf incapable of ſatisfying his ambition, was not remiſs in concurring with his zeal; ſo that heretics began to be perſecuted with inquiſitorial ſeverity. The old ſanguinary laws were now revived, which had been rejected by a former parliament. Orders were given that the biſhops and prieſts who had married ſhould be ejected, that the maſs ſhould be reſtored, and the pope's authority eſtabliſhed, and the church put upon the ſame foundation as before the commencement of the reformation. Only as the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought impoſſible to make a reſtoration of theſe.

At the head of thoſe who drove ſuch meaſures forward were Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and cardinal Pole, who was now returned

returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conſcientiouſly adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's diſpleaſure, not only by refuſing his aſſent to his meaſures, but by writing againſt him. It was for this adherence that he was cheriſhed by the pope, and now ſent over to England as legate from the holy ſee. Gardiner was a man of a very different character; his chief aim was to pleaſe the reigning prince, and he had ſhewn already many inſtances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous meaſures; and he knew that it would be the beſt means of paying his court to them, even to out-go them in ſeverity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for puniſhing thoſe changes in others with the utmoſt rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a perſecution in perſon; he therefore conſigned that office to Bonner, biſhop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

* This bloody ſcene began by the martyrdom of Hooper biſhop of Glouceſter, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commiſſioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected by their recantation that they would bring thoſe opinions into diſrepute which they had ſo long inculcated; but the perſecutors were deceived: they both continued ſtedfaſt in their belief, and were accor-

* A. D. 1555.

dingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper at Glouceſter. Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under very powerful temptations to ſave his life, for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his reſolution. The jailors waked him from a ſound ſleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a prieſt, he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he ſeemed no way daunted; but cried out, "I reſign my life with joy in teſ-"timony of the doctrine of Jeſus." When Hooper was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him with the queen's pardon upon it, in caſe he ſhould recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared chearfully to ſuffer his ſentence, which was executed in its full ſeverity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been ſufficiently kindled; ſo that his legs and thighs were firſt burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breaſt. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whoſe zeal had been diſtinguiſhed in carrying on the reformation, were the next that ſuffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it ſtream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, ſinging the thirty-

firſt

firſt pſalm in Engliſh, which one of the ſpectators obſerving, ſtruck him a blow on the ſide of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes ſilent with his eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed upward, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compaſſion, ſtruck him down with his halbert, and put an end to his torments.

The death of theſe only ſerved to increaſe the ſavage appetite of the popiſh biſhops and monks, for freſh ſlaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and Luxury, let looſe his vengeance without reſtraint; and ſeemed to take pleaſure in the pains of the unhappy ſufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to purſue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, biſhop of London; and the venerable Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, were condemned together, at Oxford. Ridley had been one of the ableſt champions for the reformation; his piety, learning and ſolidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to ſee him; and when he beheld them melted into tears, he himſelf appeared quite unmoved, inwardly ſupported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the ſtake near Baliol College, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the moſt remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the ſimplicity of his manners. He had never

learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great. His ſermons, which remain to this day, ſhew that he had much learning, and much wit; and there is an air of ſincerity running through them, not to be found elſewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother, cried he, we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." A furious bigot aſcended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a moſt ſerious attention to his diſcourſe. No way diſtracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the laſt; and then told him, that he was ready to anſwer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a ſhort indulgence; but this was refuſed him. At length fire was ſet to the pile: Latimer was ſoon out of pain, but Ridley continued to ſuffer much longer, his legs being conſumed before the fire reached his vitals. Gardiner would not dine on the day they ſuffered, till he read the news of their death. The ſame evening he was ſeized with a ſuppreſſion of urine, which in leſs than a week brought him to his grave.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture ſupportable, he would make them a ſignal for that purpoſe in the midſt

midſt of the flames. When he ſeemed near expiring, by ſtretching out his arms, he gave his friends the ſignal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes to ſuffer.

Women were perſecuted with as much ſeverity as men. A woman in Guernſey, condemned for hereſy, was delivered of a child in the midſt of the flames. Some of the Spectators ran to ſnatch the infant from danger; but the magiſtrate, who was a papiſt, ordered "the young heretic to be flung in again;" and there it was conſumed with the mother.

* Cranmer's death followed ſoon after, and ſtruck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have ſeen acting ſo conſpicuous a part in the reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a priſoner for obſtructing the queen's ſucceſſion to the crown. It was now reſolved to bring him to puniſhment; and to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he ſhould be puniſhed for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was accordingly cited by the pope, to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a priſoner at Oxford, yet upon his not appearing he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not ſatisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of ſelf-accuſation. Perſons were, therefore, employed to tempt him by flattery and inſinuation; by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to ſign a recan-

* A. D. 1556.

recantation, which was ſo worded, as to imply very little. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to ſign this paper: and by degrees, to ſign five other papers, each a little ſtronger than the other. The laſt explicitly acknowledged the papal ſupremacy and the real preſence. And now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him wretched, reſolved to deſtroy him. But it was determined that he ſhould firſt make a recantation in the church before the people. It is a doubt, whether he then knew any thing of his intended execution. Being placed in a conſpicuous part of the church, a ſermon was preached by Cole, provoſt of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's converſion as the immediate work of heaven itſelf. He aſſured the archbiſhop, that nothing could have been ſo pleaſing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, that in caſe it was thought fit he ſhould ſuffer, numberleſs maſſes ſhould be ſaid for his ſoul; and that his own confeſſion of his faith would ſtill more ſecure his ſoul from the pains of purgatory. During this whole rhapſody, Cranmer expreſſed the utmoſt agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he ſhed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguiſh. He then began a prayer, filled with the moſt pathetic expreſſions of horror and remorſe: and afterwards ſaid, that he was well apprized of his duty to his ſovereign; but that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had ſigned papers contrary to his conſcience: that he took this opportunity

of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; he was willing, he ſaid, to ſeal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: and that as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it ſhould undergo the firſt puniſhment. The aſſembly, conſiſting chiefly of papiſts, who hoped to triumph in the laſt words of ſuch a convert, were equally confounded and incenſed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off; and led him forward amidſt the inſults and reproaches of his audience, to the ſtake at which Latimer and Ridley had ſuffered. He was reſolved to triumph over their inſults by his conſtancy and fortitude; and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he ſtretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was conſumed, while he frequently cried out, in the midſt of his ſufferings, "That unworthy hand;" at the ſame time exhibiting no appearance of pain or diſorder. When the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his tortures; his mind being occupied wholly with the hopes of a future reward. Such was the end of Thomas Cranmer, who, with a ſmall alloy of human weakneſs, poſſeſſed all the candor, ſimplicity, meekneſs and benevolence of a primitive chriſtian.

* A proclamation now iſſued againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition declared, that whoſoever having ſuch books in his poſſeſſion did not burn them without reading, ſhould be eſteemed rebels, and ſuffer accordingly. This

* A. D. 1557.

This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects, whole crowds were executed, till at laſt the very magiſtrates refuſed to lend their aſſiſtance. It was computed, that during this perſecution, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſuffered by fire, beſides thoſe puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

The temporal affairs of the kingdom did not ſeem to be more ſucceſsful. From Philip's firſt arrival in England the queen's pregnancy was talked of; and her own extreme deſire that it ſhould be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was firſt introduced to her, ſhe fancied the child ſtirred in her womb; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptiſt in his mother's belly, at the ſalutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that ſhe was pregnant; they were confident that this child ſhould be a ſon; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous and witty. But it ſoon turned out that all their confidence was ill founded: for the queen's ſuppoſed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropſy.

A war had juſt been commenced between Spain and France; and Philip, (who ſome time before had retired to Flanders) took this occaſion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not ſeconded by England at this criſis, he would never ſee the country more

more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his intereſts; and though ſhe was warmly oppoſed by cardinal Pole, and her council, yet, by threatening them, ſhe at laſt ſucceeded. War was declared againſt France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom with vigour. An army of ten thouſand men was raiſed, and ſent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin ſeemed to promiſe great ſucceſs to the allied armies; but ſoon an action, performed by the duke of Guiſe in the midſt of winter, turned the ſcale in favour of France, and affected, if not the intereſts, at leaſt the honour of England in the tendereſt point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; it had been the chief market for wool, and other Britiſh commodities; it had been ſtrongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable, But all the fortifications, which were raiſed before gunpowder was found out, were ill able to reſiſt the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for ſtrength, which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guiſe, that as the town of Calais was ſurrounded by marſhes, which during winter were impaſſable, except over a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam Bridge; the Engliſh were, of late, accuſtomed, to ſave expence, to diſmiſs

miſs a great part of the garriſon at the approach of winter, and recall them in ſpring. † The duke of Guiſe upon this, made a ſudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and aſſaulted the caſtle of St. Agatha. The garriſon was ſoon obliged to retreat to their other caſtle of Newnam Bridge, and ſhortly after compelled to quit that poſt, and take ſhelter in the city. Mean while a ſmall fleet was ſent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was inveſted by land and ſea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garriſon being very weak, they were unable to reſiſt an aſſault given by the French, who made a lodgment in the caſtle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this poſt; but having loſt two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; ſo that in leſs than eight days, the duke of Guiſe recovered a city that had been in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ſince the time of Edward the third, and which he had ſpent eleven months in beſieging. This loſs filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with deſpair; ſhe was heard to ſay, that when dead the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

Theſe complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increaſing hereſy, a diſdainful huſband, and an unſucceisful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's conſtitution. She began to appear conſumptive, and this rendered her mind ſtill more moroſe. The people now began to turn their thoughts on her ſucceſſor; and

† A. D. 1558.

and the princeſs Elizabeth came into greater conſideration than before. During this whole reign, the nation was in continual apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of this princeſs. The violent hatred of the queen broke out on every occaſion; while Elizabeth, conſcious of her danger, paſt her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, entirely detached from buſineſs. Propoſals of marriage had been made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador, in his maſter's name; but ſhe referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, ſhe had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune. Nor was ſhe leſs prudent in concealing her ſentiments of religion, and in eluding all queſtions relative to that dangerous ſubject. She was obnoxious to Mary for two reaſons; as ſhe was next heir to the throne, it was feared ſhe might aſpire to it during her ſiſter's life-time; but it was ſtill more reaſonably apprehended that ſhe would, if ſhe came to the crown, make an innovation in religion. The biſhops who had ſhed ſuch a deluge of blood, foreſaw this; and often told Mary that her deſtroying meaner heretics was of no advantage, while the great one was ſuffered to remain. Mary ſaw the cogency of their arguments, confined her ſiſter with proper guards, and only waited for ſome freſh inſurrection, or ſome favourable pretext, to deſtroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a declining ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for

for a pregnancy, ſhe made uſe of an improper regimen, which had increaſed the diſorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, whom ſhe hated, and, above all, her anxiety for the loſs of her huſband, who never intended to return; all theſe preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whoſe gentleneſs we have had occaſion to mention before, ſurvived her but ſixteen hours. She was buried in Henry the ſeventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

She was not only an exceſſive bigot, but of a ſour, cruel and vindictive temper. Nor did ſhe ever ſhew any great capacity in government; ſo that her underſtanding ſeems to have been little better than her temper.

CHAP

CHAP. XII.

I Believe it will not be unacceptable to the ſerious reader, to ſubjoin a more particular account of ſome of thoſe excellent men, who during this unhappy reign, ſealed the truth with their blood.

JOHN HOOPER

Was a ſtudent at Oxford in the moſt dangerous part of king Henry's reign. Some of his ſuperiors there diſcovered his inclinations to purer doctrine, whereupon he was forced to withdraw. After ſeveral removes, he went to Zurich, and entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Bullinger. Hearing how things went under king Edward, (tho, as it ſeems, ſuſpecting the continuance of this ſun-ſhine) he reſolved to return. Taking his leave of Bullinger, he told him he would ſurely write to him; "but (ſays he) the laſt news of all "I ſhall not be able to write, for where I "ſhall take moſt pains, there you ſhall hear "that I am burned to aſhes." When he came to London, he preached once and commonly twice every day; and tho' he rebuked vice very ſharply, yet he had always a thronged audience.

Some-

Some time after, he was invited to the biſhoprick, firſt of Gloceſter, then of Worceſter too. He was not againſt the largeſt ſphere of labour: but they had much ado to inveſt him with the dignity. Being a lover of plainneſs, he ſcrupled (perhaps more than he needed) to uſe the epiſcopal robes. However the diſpute concerning them, was carried rather too high between him and biſhop Ridley. His behaviour in his dioceſes was wonderful. No huſbandman could be more buſy in his tillage, than he was in going about the towns and villages preaching to the people. What time he had ſpare from that, was ſpent either in ſtudy and prayer; or hearing public cauſes: in which he ſhewed himſelf a ſkilful and upright judge, and made even the rich ſubmit to diſcipline. When you came into his palace, you would think you entered into ſome church or temple; in every corner was the odour of virtue, good example, and reading the holy ſcriptures. There was no courtly rioting or idleneſs to be ſeen, no pomp at all, no vain diſcourſe. In his hall you might find every day a number of poor people, ſitting down to a plentiful table, having been firſt inſtructed by him in religion. He laid up nothing of his revenue.

Upon queen Mary's acceſſion, Hooper was ſoon ſent for to London. Not approving of flight, he went: and being fixed in his principles, he was committed to the Fleet; and at laſt ſentenced to be burnt (to his particular joy) at Gloceſter. He leapt on his horſe with unuſual alacrity, the morning he was to

be

be conducted to the place. The guard, when they baited at Cirenceſter, purpoſely carried him to a woman's houſe, who was a virulent enemy to him and the truth. But when ſhe ſaw his reſolution to die for that truth, her heart relented, and ſhe ſhewed him all poſſible friendſhip. When he came to his lodging at Gloceſter, (the guard being in the room with him) he took one very eaſy but ſhort ſleep, and ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. Next day a knight, whom he had reclaimed from a debauched life, came to ſee him, thanking God that ever he knew him; but Hooper perceiving him ſtill to waver with the times, ſhed tears. The like tenderneſs he ſhewed (but they were tears of joy) to a poor blind boy, who could not reſt till the guards let him in to him. Hooper finding upon examination, that for the ſake of Chriſt he had lately been in priſon, looked earneſtly at him, and ſaid, "Ah poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward light, for what reaſon he beſt knoweth; but he hath given thee another ſight much more precious, for he hath endued thy ſoul with the eye of knowledge and faith."

As he went to the ſtake, obſerving a vaſt concourſe of people, he ſaid, "Alas! why be theſe people come together? peradventure they think to hear ſomething of me now, as they have in times paſt; but alas, ſpeech is prohibited me!" Yet beholding them all the way, (while they mourned bitterly for him) he would ſometimes lift up his eyes toward heaven, and look very chearfully upon ſuch

as

as he knew. Indeed he was never known during the whole time of his being among them, to look with ſo chearful a countenance as he did then. At the place he kneeled down and prayed ſoftly, beginning with theſe words; "Lord, I am Hell, but Thou art Heaven; "I am a ſink of ſin, but Thou art a gracious "and merciful Redeemer. Have mercy "therefore upon me moſt miſerable offend- "er. Thou art aſcended into heaven; re- "ceive me, Hell, to be partaker of thy joys "where Thou ſitteſt in equal glory with thy "Father."

When they went to faſten him, (which he told them, they needed not) it appeared that his body was much ſwelled, by the jailor's hard treatment of him: who had alſo been very rigid in other reſpects, as in ſearching for papers; though none could be found, but a little remembrance of good people's names that had given him alms.

Hooper was a penſive man, whom death thought had made humble and ſteady. The only things in his life that could be ſuſpected of pride, were, his difficult ſubmitting to authority in the affair of the veſtments, and his coldforbidding behaviour ſometimes, proceeded from that which is the trueſt humility, a quick fear of God upon his mind; and ſuch a ſtrong ſight of his own ſinfulneſs, as had the model ling of him both within and without. Our author was going to blame him, as too reſerved but he preſently corrects himſelf by obſerving "That as every man hath his peculiar gift "wrought in him by nature, ſo this diſpoſi "tion of fatherly gravity in this man was

" not exceſſive, neither did he bear that per-
" ſonage that was in him, without great con-
" ſideration." The bravery of his reſoluti-
ons made no glitter before, but ſhewed itſelf
in the time of trial. He was in ſhort, a man
of great decency, circumſpection, and, at the
ſame time, activity: one that muſt be reveren-
ced, and yet might be loved.

ROWLAND TAYLOR.

The town of Hadley in Suffolk, was one
of the firſt in England that received the word
of God, at the preaching of Bilney. Many
of the people were well verſed in the ſcrip-
ture, and able to give a good account of their
faith. Tho' it was a trading place, induſtry
did not hinder a general good order, and ſpi-
rit of piety. Their children and ſervants
they trained up in the ſame paths. Here it
was that Rowland Taylor, Doctor of Laws,
and an excellent divine, was appointed paſtor.
He gave himſelf up to his charge, inſtructing
them at all opportunities, and moſt of all by
the ſincere chriſtian life that he led. For he
was humble and meek as a child, and void of
all rancour and reſentment. The pooreſt
might come to him boldly, as to a parent;
and yet the richeſt muſt expect to hear from
him, if they did amiſs, in ſuch grave and
decent reproofs as he did not want courage to
give. But what he was moſt remarkable for,
was his tenderneſs and bounty to all that were
in diſtreſs, and the ſweet harmony and chriſ-
tian affection between him and his own family.

One morning (after queen Mary came in) he heard the bells ring, and thinking there was ſome duty to be done, went to church. A popiſh prieſt was got there, ſaying maſs. Dr. Taylor bid him deſiſt: but the prieſt knew who would ſupport him, and in a few days Taylor was cited to London by biſhop Gardiner. His friends would not have had him go; but he replied. "I am old, and I ſhall never be able to do God ſo good ſervice, as I may do now: for what chriſtian man would not gladly die againſt the kingdom of antichriſt?" When the biſhop thought to terrify him, the martyr put him in mind of a God above, whom he ought to fear, for having deſerted Chriſt and his word. The chief thing objected to him was his being married: but he ſtoutly defended himſelf both from ſcripture and antiquity. He went joyfully to priſon, and ſpent his time there in praying, writing, and admoniſhing all about him.

When the biſhop laid his curſe upon him, he ſaid, "Tho' you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſs me. I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you." The night before he was carried to Hadley to be burnt, his wife having a ſuſpicion of it, waited for him in a church-porch near Aldgate, with her daughter and an orphan whom they had brought up. As he went by in the dark, they called to him, and he had leave to ſtop and ſay the Lord's prayer with them. A little further on his journey his man met him with his ſon Thomas; whom he took up before him on the horſe

horſe, and prayed over him, putting his own hat on his head. He made the ſheriff weep, partly by exhorting him to repent, partly with the thoughts that ſo worthy a man was determined to die. Once he had ſome hopes, when Taylor ſaid theſe words, "I perceive that I have been deceived myſelf, and am like to deceive many in Hadley of their expectation." Being deſired to explain himſelf, he ſaid, "He meant the worms in the church-yard, where he thought to have laid his large carcaſe."

Having occaſion to light within two miles of the town, he gave a ſkip and ſaid, "I have not paſt two ſtiles to go over, and I am even at my father's houſe." Before he came there, they put a hood over his face to hide him from the people. But that would not do. There preſently met him a poor man with five ſmall children, who kneeling down, cried aloud, "O dear Father Dr. Taylor, God help and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me and my children."--- "There goes our good ſhepherd from us, (would others cry) Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, the Holy Ghoſt comfort thee." Paſſing by the alms-houſes, he enquired for ſuch and ſuch blind people, and gave them the remains of his priſon-ſtock. When he came to the ſtake, he prayed ſilently, not being permitted to ſpeak. One threw a faggot at him and broke his face; but he took it patiently, and never ſtirred till he expired.

Taylor was a man of acquired virtue, conſcientious, and ſteady in his duty. Super-

ficial obſervers might be offended at ſome things in him; as facetiouſneſs in his converſation. But as there is a degree of reſerve which nurſes virtue, ſo there is a farther degree which only nurſes pride. Here was a ſolid piety, that needed no artifice. Here was all the uncommon vigor of a bold and ſtrong ſoul, bearing the yoke of Chriſt, and doing his work only.

JOHN BRADFORD,

Was entered at the temple, and became ſecretary to Sir John Harrington, treaſurer of the king's buildings. But providence intended him for other things; ſo he went to Cambridge, where Bucer often encouraged him to attempt preaching, and biſhop Ridley ſoon after ordained him. He laboured in the office three years at London and other places, to the great benefit of many: for he ſharply reproved ſin, ſweetly preached Chriſt crucified, earneſtly perſuaded to a godly life. He did not ſleep above four hours in the night; uſed no recreation, but the company of a friend; eat very little, and even in the midſt of dinner would muſe and ſhed tears. He was always either thinking or praying; tho' indeed they were both one thing in him; for he commonly ſtudied upon his knees. He was liberal and free-hearted, and very gentle in his behaviour towards all perſons great and ſmall.

The occaſion of his being apprehended under queen Mary was this. A biſhop of their's preached a ſermon at Paul's croſs to recommend

mend popery. This ſo enraged the people, that the biſhop was in danger of being killed: whereupon he deſired Bradford, who ſtood behind him, to ſtep in his place and ſpeak to them. He no ſooner appeared, but they cried out, "God ſave thy life, Bradford!" and were preſently pacified. However, he walked with the biſhop to a houſe, ſheltering him all the way from the people. In the afternoon he preached himſelf at Bow-Church, and rebuked them ſeverely for their tumultuous behaviour. Theſe facts were imputed to him for ſeditious, and he was caſt in priſon. He turned the priſon into a houſe of prayer, and many came daily to his lecture. For the jailor granted him what liberty he pleaſed, even to go out into town without any keeper. He often went the back way to Saunders in a neighbouring priſon.

Two nights before his death, he had a dream concerning it, which made him get up early to prayer. He gave over now all care and ſtudy, and only coveted to be talking with Him, whom he had always ſtudied to be withal. He diſcourſed often that day with his chamber-fellow of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeneſs of ſin at that time. In the afternoon he had notice, that preparations were made for his burning, and he muſt remove to another priſon. He took off his cap and gave God thanks, and having diſpoſed of his papers, he ſpent the evening with his friends in a moſt heavenly manner. He made a prayer of farewel, with an abundant power of the Spirit; and another on the

wedding-garment, when the ſhirt that he ſhould burn in was brought him; and concluded with good advice to the ſervants of the houſe. All were exceedingly affected: but he turning to the wall, prayed earneſtly that his words might not be ſpoken in vain." When he came into the court, all the priſoners, (thieves and other criminals whom he uſed to viſit) bid him farewel, weeping.

It was whiſpered, that he ſhould die by four o'clock in the morning, and a vaſt throng of people came together; but it was nine before he was brought, under a ſtrong guard. He fell on his face, and prayed a few moments, and then aroſe and kiſſed the ſtake. Putting off his clothes, he begged his ſervant might have them, for he had nothing elſe to give him. Then he held up his hands and ſaid, "O England, England, Repent thee of "thy ſins." Turning to a young man that ſuffered with him he ſaid, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we ſhall have a merry ſupper with the Lord this night." He added no more but this, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

Bradford wrote a great many letters during his confinement; in ſome of which he reminds the generality of proteſtants, of their indolent unfruitfulneſs under the goſpel in king Edward's days; while in others he comforts the ſincere under their preſent afflictions.

He was the darling of mankind; and as much qualified as any man, to attract the love of all. In all he ſaid, or did, or wrote, there

there was that affectionate flow of ſentiments, which of courſe commands people's hearts: and at the ſame time that ſtrong demonſtration of the nobleſt principles at bottom, which muſt ſatisfy the ſtricteſt and moſt ſpiritual judges. His heart was always warm to purſue, and upright to abſtain, as the divine light ſhining upon his mind did every moment direct him. Who would have expected, a perſon ſo pure in his converſation, ſo perpetually on the ſtretch in doing good, ſhould much perceive the corruption of his nature? Yet he did, and very feelingly lamented it. Who would have thought, that a man of a ſoft and gay complexion (to which only religion had added thoughtfulneſs) ſhould have laid his reſolutions deeper, and in a fuller diſcernment of things, than perſons naturally ſevere and contemplative? Yet he helped to ſtrengthen ſome ſuch. His mild firmneſs in grace, and his loving aſſiſtances to others, got him the name of "the Angel Bradford."

NICOLAS RIDLEY,

Was born in Northumberland, and brought up at Cambridge; where he was made head of Pembroke-Hall. He was converted from popery by reading Bertram's book on the ſacrament; which led him to ſearch the ſcriptures and primitive writers more diligently. His love of the former he ſhewed, in learning by heart (in his garden at Pembroke-hall) almoſt all St. Paul's epiſtles. "Of which ſtudy, ſays he, altho' in time a great part

did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after. The Lord grant that a zeal toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy ſcripture, may ever abide ſo long as the world ſhall endure."

Ridley was made biſhop of London in king Edward's reign, (Bonner being diſplaced;) and was one of the chief compilers of our excellent liturgy. He uſed that liturgy twice a day in his own houſe; and expounded at the ſame time part of the new teſtament, beginning at the Acts, and ſo going through the epiſtles of St. Paul. Every ſunday and holiday he preached in public: while his regular, chaſte and unblemiſhed life gave weight to his doctrine. Uſing all ways to mortify himſelf, he was much given to prayer and contemplation; and conſtantly ſpent on his knees in ſecret half an hour morning and night. He rarely ſpoke, or was merry, any farther than it was neceſſary. He was alſo very patient and forgiving towards thoſe that injured him; gentle and humane to all, even to the papiſts. Many of them, he ſaid, did not err of malice; and he uſed the moſt candour of any man in expoſing their errors. Biſhop Bonner's mother ſat always at his table, and was honoured by him as his own parent. Yet ſometimes in his maſter's cauſe, he put on a zeal full of majeſty; as once to the princeſs Mary, when ſhe would not receive God's word at his mouth.

Now

Now ſhe was queen, and popery muſt enſue: but yet a ſhew of equity was to be kept up. Therefore Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer, (whom ſhe had before impriſoned in the Tower) were fetched to Oxford, to defend the doctrine they had lately taught, in public diſputation. Their opponents, however, were to overbear them right or wrong. The ſubject was the holy ſacrament. Ridley argued excellently, but could come no nearer his adverſaries than this: "that in the Euchariſt we receive the grace of Chriſt's body; the food of life and immortality; ſpiritual fleſh, but not that which was crucified; grace and ſociety of the members of Chriſt's body." This not contenting the other party, ſentence was read over him and his friends, that they were no members of the church. Whereto he replied, "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this ſentence will ſend us ſooner, than we ſhould by the courſe of nature have come."

Preparing himſelf, in converſation with Latimer, to defend the preſent cauſe againſt all objections, he at laſt comes to this, that the higher powers and the preſent laws of the realm diſallowed it. Though he determines clearly, that God ought to be obeyed rather than man; yet (out of a cordial reverence for his governors) he does it with reluctance and pain; and after firſt putting up this ſolemn prayer: "O heavenly father, the father of all wiſdom, underſtanding and true ſtrength, I beſeech thee, for thy only ſon our ſaviour

Chriſt's ſake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and ſend thine holy ſpirit into my breaſt, that I may underſtand according to thy wiſdom, how this peſtilent and deadly dart is to be born off, and with what anſwer it is to be beaten back."

As he was a man very loving to his kindred in the fleſh, he wrote (a little before his death) a long letter of farewel to his relations, and likewiſe to the ſeveral places where he had lived, exhorting them to ſtand faſt in the truth.

Notwithſtanding the care he took of his domeſticks, one of his chaplains was now inclining to popery; whereupon he wrote thus to him. "Sir, how nigh the day of my diſſolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell. I know that I ſhall appear before the incorrupt judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my ſhoot-anchor of eternal ſalvation; yet am I perſuaded, that whoſoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conſcience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conſcience therefore, (conſidering you were one of my houſhold) moveth me to fear, leſt the lightneſs of my family ſhould be laid to my charge, for lack of more earneſt and diligent inſtruction. It moveth me alſo now to require you, to remember your promiſes made to me in times paſt, &c."

He was a great promoter of brotherly-love, and mutual reſpect between the martyrs. But of none did he ſpeak more honourably, than

than of Hooper; to whom he ſent an expreſs letter of reconciliation, deſiring that all former diſputes might be forgot and buried.

The night before he ſuffered, he talked very chearfully of his burning, called it his wedding, and invited his friends to it. He made himſelf clean, and when the time came, put on the ſame gown and cap he wore when he was biſhop. He and Latimer walked together to the ſtake, and kneeled down to pray. When they roſe, Ridley put off his cloaths, and gave them and other little things among his acquaintance, as tokens to remember him by. None of the martyrs were ſo long, or ſuffered ſo much in burning; for the faggots not being well laid, he was forced, after his legs were conſumed, to cry out for fire to his body.

Ridley was one of the moſt learned men of the age, eſpecially in the fathers. He was a ſearcher after the truth, who could not be content with confuſed and embarraſſed ideas. He had a vigour of mind, that was wholly employed either in ſtudy, or in the cares of duty and behaviour, with very few excreſcencies towards any paſſion. A high ſenſe he had of the paſtoral character, and he was very zealous in keeping up order and diſcipline. He was formed, as much as any man, to be a governor and a pattern.

HUGH LATIMER,

Was once a zealous papiſt: he was appointed at Cambridge to carry the croſs in their proceſſions, and was licenſed for a

preacher. As he was then conſcientious in the ſmalleſt ceremonies of that religion; ſo when by Bilney's means he was brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, he was no leſs diligent in preaching the goſpel. He and Bilney uſed to walk together in the fields, and the place was long after called Heretic's Hill. Latimer continued three years, partly confirming his brethren in private, partly making public diſcourſes both to the ſtudents and the common people. Being no longer ſuffered in the univerſity, a friend recommended him to the king; by whom he was well liked for his talent in preaching. But ſoon growing weary of the Court, he accepted of a vicarage in Wiltſhire.

He made this uſe of his intereſt with the king, to intercede for any that he thought were oppreſſed. After preaching his firſt ſermon, the king admitting him to familiar converſation, he kneeled down and made his requeſt, that a poor woman, in Cambridge priſon might have her pardon. He and Bilney had diſcovered that ſhe was innocent, but like to ſuffer by a well-laid malicious accuſation. Again, when an order was ſet forth, to prohibit the reading of Tindal's works and other good books; Latimer wrote a letter to the king, putting him in mind, that whereas thoſe books treated chiefly of juſtification by faith, he himſelf being a "mortal man, and having in him the corrupt nature of Adam, had no leſs need of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion for his ſalvation, than any of his ſubjects; and whereas he now took part with the ſtronger

ſide

ſide, he deſires him to remember, that "where the word of God is truly preached, there is perſecution; and where is quietneſs and reſt in worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth." At laſt (to give God the honour of what muſt be his work, without otherwiſe excluding princes from doing their part for the maintenance of true religion) he prays for the king, that 'according to the office God had called 'him to, he might be found a faithful miniſ-'ter of his gifts, and not a defender of his 'faith; for that he will not have it defended 'by man or man's power, but by his word 'only, by which he hath evermore defended 'it, and that in a way far above man's power 'or reaſon.' After ſuch freedom with king Henry (which he uſed more than once) it cannot be thought he would flatter any one elſe. A poor man came and told him his caſe, how he had been injured by two neighbouring gentlemen. Latimer wrote to one of them privately, but received an anſwer full of big words. To which he replied, "I am "uſed to commit ſuch treſpaſs many times "in a year, even to lords and ladies: and I "do not deſpair, but verily truſt, one way or "other, to pluck both you and alſo your bro-"ther, as crabbed as you ſay he is, out of the "devil's claws."

Latimer was often in trouble. A friar or two attacked him at Cambridge, but he ſoon put them out of countenance. At his pariſh he was reproved, for preſuming to ſay that he preached God's truth: to which he replied, "He that may not with meekneſs think in

and

and of himſelf, as God hath done for him, how ſhall he give thanks to God for his gifts?" Then he was complained of to the biſhops, as if he ſpoke ſlightingly of ſome popiſh traditions; and to clear himſelf, they required him to ſubſcribe certain articles. Here he was in a great ſtrait; for on one hand he was not willing, by ſubſcribing nakedly to them, to keep up in any degree the foolish ſuperſtition of the people; and on the other, he did not chooſe to "ſuſtain the ſentence of death for ſuch matters as theſe were, unleſs it was for neceſſary points of faith." Meanwhile, there was one behind the hangings, to take down all that he ſaid; but "God (ſays he) was my good Lord, and gave me what to anſwer."

Soon after the king made him biſhop of Worceſter, where he diſcharged every office of a good paſtor. Indeed the times were ſuch that he was forced to bear with ſome ſilly cuſtoms, as Holy Water, &c. But by the words he annexed to them, he taught the people to look to Chriſt. He held his biſhoprick a few years, till the ſix popiſh articles were ſet up; and then (becauſe he would be no agent in what followed) he reſigned it. Coming up afterwards to London, he was clapt in the Tower, where he remained till king Edward's time. That good prince heard him gladly; and a place in the king's garden that was before applied to idle ſports, was given him to preach in. He alſo laboured in ſeveral parts of the realm, preaching twice a ſunday, though he was ſixty-ſeven years of age, and had been bruiſed by the fall of a tree.

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He would be up winter and ſummer in his ſtudy, by two o'clock in the morning.

Upon queen Mary's acceſſion, a purſuivant was ſent to fetch him. Having notice of it before, he prepared himſelf for the journey; and when the man came, ſaid to him, "Friend, you are welcome: I doubt not but God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two princes, ſo he will enable me to witneſs the ſame unto the third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally." He was quickly ſent back to the Tower. Though it was a froſty winter, he had no fire allowed him. He was ſo feeble, that he did not write much during his impriſonment: but in prayer he was fervently employed, and oftentimes continued ſo long kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without help. His chief petitions were, "that he himſelf might be faithful unto death; that God would preſerve the princeſs Elizabeth; and that he would reſtore his goſpel to England once again." Theſe words *once again* he repeated with ſuch confidence, as if he had ſeen God, and ſpoke with him face to face. With reſpect to the controverſy, he ſaid thus to Ridley, "You ſhall prevail more by praying, than by ſtudying: I will not contend much with them in words, after a reaſonable account of my faith given; for it will be but in vain."

The Oxford diſputation being over, and ſentence paſt, he thanked God (like old Polycarp) that he had "prolonged his life, to glorify him by that kind of death." He walked

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walked to the ſtake in his uſual habit, a thread-bare frieze-coat, and a cap buttoned under the chin. He gave no tokens to any. Being at the place, he looked up to heaven with an amiable and chearful countenance; and when the fire was kindled he ſoon expired.

Latimer was a plain man, that took upon him no philoſophic ſtate, and ſimply joined divine grace to a common life. He was naturally chearful, and had a good deal of humorous wit: but being lodged in a mild and gentle ſoul, not paſſion but piety, where it might be uſeful; had the uſe of it. As he was a perſon of true ſenſe, his obſervations were ſolid; and long before he came to the ſtake, he ſeemed to be made up of nothing but experience. He had both the venerable look, and in ſome meaſure the foreſight of a prophet. He died a very old man; who would have been weary of his life, but that his conſcience was good, and he knew that vanity of vanities is no more to be fretted at, than delighted in.

CHAP

CHAP. XIII.

ELIZABETH.

* NOTHING, could exceed the joy that was diffuſed among the people upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any oppoſition. She was at Hatfield, when informed of her ſiſter's death; and, haſtening up to London, was received by the multitude with univerſal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that beſt ſchool, the ſchool of adverſity; and ſhe had made the proper uſe of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleaſures abroad, ſhe ſought for knowledge at home; ſhe cultivated her underſtanding, learned the languages and ſciences; but of all the arts which ſhe acquired, that of concealing her opinions, and checking her inclinations, were the moſt beneficial to her.

She was now twenty-five years old. Upon entering the Tower according to cuſtom, ſhe could not refrain from remarking the difference of her preſent, and her former fortune, When

* A. D. 1558.

when she was sent there as a prisoner. She had been scarce proclaimed queen, when Philip, ordered his ambassador in London, the duke of Feria, to make her proposals of marriage from his master. She returned him a very obliging, though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. Yet not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained thirteen of her sister's council; but in order to balance their authority, added eight more who were affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, was Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, whose temper it was, to wish for any religion that would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbad all preaching without a special licence. She also ordered part of the service to be read in English, and forbad the host to be any more elevated in her presence. § A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present enjoy it.

Of

§ A. D. 1559.

Of nine thouſand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of thoſe in the kingdom, only fourteen biſhops, twelve deans, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, choſe to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was ſeen to change its belief in religion four times ſince the beginning of the reign of Henry the eighth. "Strange, ſays a foreign writer, that a people ſo reſolute, ſhould be guilty of ſo much inconſtancy; that the ſame people, who this day aſſiſted at the execution of heretics, ſhould the next, not only think them guiltleſs, but conform to their ſyſtems of thinking."

Elizabeth had now all the catholic powers of Europe her open or ſecret enemies! France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itſelf, began to think of combining againſt her. Her ſubjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party in England, though profeſſing obedience, were yet ready to take the advantage of her ſlighteſt misfortunes. Theſe were the dangers ſhe had to fear; nor had ſhe formed a ſingle alliance to aſſiſt her, nor poſſeſſed any foreign friends that ſhe could rely on. In this ſituation, ſhe could hope for no other reſource but what proceeded from the affection of her own ſubjects, her own inſight into her affairs, and the wiſdom of her adminiſtration. From the beginning of her reign, ſhe ſeemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herſelf loved

loved by her ſubjects, and feared by her courtiers. She reſolved to be frugal of her treaſury; and ſtill more ſparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour; and the great, too poor to ſhake off their independence. She alſo ſhewed, that ſhe knew how to diſtribute both rewards and puniſhments with impartiality; that ſhe knew when to ſooth, and when to upbraid; that ſhe could diſſemble ſubmiſſion, but preſerve her prerogatives. In ſhort, ſhe ſeemed to have ſtudied the people ſhe was born to govern, and knew when to flatter their foibles, to ſecure their affections.

Her chief favourite was Robert Dudley, ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, who was poſſeſſed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power, were Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application: they regulated the finances, and directed the political meaſures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with ſo much ſucceſs.

Mary queen of Scots, was the firſt perſon that excited the fears or the reſentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the ſeventh married his eldeſt daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who dying, left no iſſue that came to maturity except Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots. At a very early age, this princeſs was married to Francis, the dauphin of France, who dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the eighth,

Francis

Francis, in right of his wife, began to aſſume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his conſort, ſeem to decline ſharing in this empty appellation. Elizabeth ſent an ambaſſador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this inſtance. But he returned without ſatisfaction. Upon the death of Francis, Mary determined to return home to Scotland, and deſired a ſafe paſſage from Elizabeth through England. But Elizabeth ſent back a very haughty anſwer to Mary's requeſt. From hence a determined perſonal enmity began to prevail between theſe rival queens.

As the tranſactions of this unfortunate queen make a diſtinguiſhed part in Elizabeth's hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to give them greater room. And the rather, becauſe ſhe has been ſo generally and ſo cruelly miſrepreſented by the Engliſh hiſtorians, naturally partial to their own country, and to the glorious queen Elizabeth.

Queen Mary had received all the accompliſhments of body and mind, which nature and the moſt finiſhed education; at the moſt polite court then in Europe, could beſtow. In converſation ſhe was lively; and in council more ſolid than could have been expected from ſo young a woman. Eſpecially one ſurrounded with all the blandiſhments of power, and endued with greater charms of perſon, than, (if we are to believe the beſt relations) any contemporary female poſſeſſed. Brantome, and other French memoir-writers of that court, who are unexceptionable evidences

evidences, have exhauſted all their powers of deſcription upon her perſonal accompliſhments; and their praiſes are confirmed by her bitter enemies.

But in Throgmorton's letters, we find that, upon Mary's refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, Elizabeth flatly refuſed, even in a public audience of the French ambaſſador to grant her a ſafe conduct into Scotland. Mary complained of this affront to Throgmorton, at his next audience, in pathetic expoſtulatory terms; and we cannot read his account of their converſation, without admiring the ſolidity and delicacy of her ſentiments. She ſeems, alſo to have had a ſtrong reſentment of Elizabeth's connections with her rebellious ſubjects. Indeed ſhe conſidered all the forced pacifications between her and them; as ſo many acts of rebellion, and conſequently as not binding her either in honour or conſcience. Throgmorton complained of this to the queen-mother of France, who juſtified her daughter-in-law; and it was ſoon publicly known, that Mary was determined to run all chances, without any ſafe conduct. When Throgmorton, in his next audience, talked to her on that ſubject, ſhe dropt the following expreſſions, which are remarkably prophetic of her future fate: "If my preparations were not ſo much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen your miſtreſs's unkindneſs might ſtay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatſoever come of it. I truſt the wind will be ſo favourable, as I ſhall not need to come

come on the coaſt of England; and if I do, then, Monſieur L'ambaſſadeur, the queen your miſtreſs ſhall have me in her hands, to do her will of me. And if ſhe be ſo hard-hearted as to deſire my end, ſhe may do her pleaſure, and make her ſacirfice of me: peradventure that might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."

The character of Mary and her two chief miniſters at this time, is thus deſcribed by Randolf, queen Elizabeth's miniſter, whom we cannot ſuſpect of partiality in her favour; "I receive of her grace at all times, very "good words. I am borne in hand by ſuch "as are neareſt about her, as the lord James (her baſtard brother) "and the lord of Le-"dington, that they are meant as they are "ſpoken: I ſee them above all others in "credit, and find in them no alteration, "though there be that complain, that they "yield too much unto her appetite; which "yet I ſee not. The lord James dealeth "according to his nature, rudely, homely. "and bluntly; the lord of Ledington, more "delicately and finely, yet nothing ſwerveth "from the other in mind and effect. She is "patient to hear and beareth much."

When ſhe was preſſed by her uncles to marry the duke de Nemours, or any other prince upon the continent, ſhe declared, in public, that ſhe would have no huſband but her ſiſter of England; facetiouſly adding, that "if one of the two queens had been a man, it would have been eaſy to have terminated for ever all differences between the two kingdoms."

The

The violent prepoſſeſſions which the proteſtant Scotch hiſtorians of this reign entertained againſt Mary; their being unacquainted with, or enemies to, the higher modes of life; but above all their averſion to the Roman catholic religion, have not ſuffered them to repreſent her conduct or ſituation in a favourable, or indeed, fair light. If we conſult Randolf, whoſe narrative is far from being partial to Mary, they admit of a more pleaſing view. From him it is plain, that the general declamations of Buchanan and Knox, againſt "the licentious living of the queen and her court were founded only upon the diverſions of which, from her former ſtate of life, and perhaps by nature ſhe was fond.

Theſe indeed, were incompatible with the ſentiments of Knox, but they were far from being diſagreeable even to lord James, or the leading men of quality among the reformers; ſo that the diſlike they afterwards ſhewed to them, probably proceeded from political motives. Her perſonal behaviour was irreproachable; for though Randolph was in the ſecret of Knox and all the reformers, yet we find no levity, far leſs immorality, laid to her charge. On the contrary, he tells Cecil, that ſhe had ſeverely reprimanded ſome of her principal courtiers, who had behaved riotouſly in the ſtreets of Edinburgh. We may likewiſe gather, from more than one of the ſame miniſter's diſpatches, that the behaviour of the earl of Aran, Knox, and the zealous reformers towards her, was diſreſpectful, and utterly unbecoming ſubjects.

With

With regard to Mary's political and religious conduct (for one is connected with the other) ſhe was ſometimes driven from the plan of moderation ſhe had laid down, by the intractable undutiful behaviour of the ſame zealots: and this appears from the repreſentation of facts in which all parties are agreed. Indeed ſhe had a ſtrong averſion to the proteſtant religion. Yet ſhe had, placed the head of that religion in her dominions, at the head of her councils. She had made him her own delegate, and notwithſtanding his acknowledged ſeverity of manners, he was, at this time, an advocate not only for her conduct, but her ſincerity. Mean time her behaviour to the Roman-catholic biſhops was wiſe and ſteady. They ſued to be reſtored to their power and temporalities, and offered to raiſe a large contribution on that condition. Mary's anſwer was, that their cauſe muſt come under the cognizance of a parliament. She gave them no ſatisfaction as to any of their complaints; and, at laſt, ſhe diſmiſſed them ſomewhat abruptly. This application of the prelates, and its failure, is a proof that Mary (at that time at leaſt) acted without any duplicity towards her proteſtant ſubjects.

All her tenderneſs not to give offence, availed her nothing in the ſight of Knox. He continued to repreſent her moſt innocent diverſions, as unpardonable, diabolical crimes. He declaimed againſt fidling and dancing in the moſt ſcurrilous terms, and even pointed her out by name. This intemperate behaviour was diſapproved of even by lord James,

afterwards earl of Murray; but no otherwiſe reſented by the queen, than by ſending for the preacher, and mildly queſtioning him, why he thus endeavoured to make her odious in the ſight of her ſubjects? His anſwer was not only unmannerly but outrageous; he told her, "That if ſhe had heard what he had ſaid, if there were any ſpark of the ſpirit of God, yea of honeſty or wiſdom in her, ſhe would not have been offended." He then repeated all the coarſe offenſive matter of his ſermon; and when Mary reminded him, that ſhe and her uncles were of a religion different from his; and that if he ſaw any thing blameable in her conduct, he ought to admoniſh her in private; his anſwer was, "That he was called to a public function, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and ſins of all; but that he was not appointed to come to every man in particular, to ſhow him his offence: that if ſhe would frequent the public ſermons, ſhe ſhould underſtand both what he liked and diſliked in her, as in all others."

Whatever fondneſs Mary might have for the Roman catholic religion, it cannot be diſcovered, that at this time ſhe had the leaſt intention to re-eſtabliſh the public profeſſion of it. Nay, ſhe approved of proſecuting the Roman catholic prieſts, for celebrating the maſs, in violation of the law. She expreſſed, in public, the moſt lively ſentiments of friendſhip for queen Elizabeth, who ſent her compliments of condolance upon the death of her two uncles, the duke of Guiſe, and the grand Prior.

About

About the middle of May, Le Croe arrived in Scotland, as an agent from her uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain, to know her ſentiments about her propoſed marriage with the archduke of Auſtria; and to offer her in the name of the emperor, the Tiroleſe in dowry; but Mary would not give him any anſwer, till Maitland ſhould return from his embaſſy to England.

It appears from Randolph's diſpatches to Cecil, that Mary now applied herſelf with indefatigable care to the internal government of her kingdom. She appointed three days a-week for expediting the cauſes of her poorer ſubjects. She increaſed the ſalaries of her judges, on account of their additional attendance; and ſhe often preſided in courts of equity in perſon. She ſigned inſtructions with her own hand for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice, eſpecially in thoſe courts that had been eſtabliſhed in place of the courts which formerly belonged to biſhops. She continued to treat Elizabeth with the greateſt ſhow of affection, though it was at this time cooled. Her proteſtant ſubjects had nothing to complain of: only ſhe wiſhed that Knox might be ſent out of her dominions for his treaſonable practices.

Murray was now declining in her eſteem. She had received intimations of his high credit with Cecil, and her other enemies at the Engliſh court; and whatever appearance there was of a coldneſs between him and Knox, ſhe knew that his not exerting himſelf againſt that preacher, was the chief cauſe of all the mortification and affront ſhe had endured.

After two years had been ſpent in altercation and reproach, between Mary and ſome of her ſubjects, ſecretly inſtigated and encouraged by the agents of queen Elizabeth, it was reſolved by her council, that ſhe ſhould look out for ſome alliance, by which ſhe might be protected againſt the inſolence of her ſpiritual inſtructors. * After ſome deliberation, the lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox, was the perſon in whom their opinions and wiſhes centered. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was couſin-german to the queen; and what perhaps might pleaſe her more, he was extremely tall and handſome. Elizabeth was no way averſe to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when it was actually conſummated, ſhe pretended to teſtify the utmoſt diſpleaſure; ſhe menaced, complained, proteſted; ſeized all the earl of Lenox's Engliſh eſtate, and threw the counteſs and her ſecond ſon into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was common with Elizabeth; and on the preſent occaſion, it ſerved her as a pretext for refuſing Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England, which that princeſs had frequently urged, but in vain.

The firſt weeks of their connexion ſeemed to promiſe an happy union for the reſt of their lives. However, it was not without ſome oppoſition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. Some lords roſe up in arms to prevent it; but they were obliged to take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable

* A. D. 1564.

favourable to Mary; and thus far ſhe kept within the bounds of ſtrict virtue. Her enemies were baniſhed, her rival over-ruled, and ſhe herſelf married to the man ſhe loved.

While Mary was dazzled by the pleaſing exterior of her lover, ſhe forgot to look to the accompliſhments of his mind. Darnley was a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; inſolent, yet credulous, and eaſily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was incapable of true love and tenderneſs. Mary in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure; but having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and his vices, ſhe began to convert her admiration into diſguſt; and an incident happened not long after which could not but greatly increaſe it.

Mary had long complained of the inaccuracy and oſcitancy of Rawlet, her French ſecretary; who did not give ſufficient attention to his diſpatches, and was, beſides, too much concerned in court-intrigues. Darnley and his friends recommended their companion David Rizio, an Italian to be employed in his place. But even this has been repreſented by Buchanan as the effect of a criminal paſſion, while at the ſame time he informs us, "that the uglineſs and aukwardneſs of Rizio's figure was ſuch, that no dreſs could make him look like a gentleman." And

Blackwood, who knew Rizio as well as Buchanan, ſays, that he was "an elderly man, his aſpect ugly, ſour, and forbidding."

Mary now invited Murray, and the other heads of the reformed to her court, promiſing them all ſatisfaction; but not being able to prevail, ſhe was heard to bewail her own ſituation. Her addreſs, her aſſiduity, and gentleneſs, gained her the eſteem and affections of all her ſubjects, except thoſe who were perſonally concerned, and who thought their ſafety depended on oppoſing her.

When we conſider the moderation diſplayed by Mary, upon this and all other occaſions of ſtate and religion, it cannot be denied, that the lords who had oppoſed her marriage, had formed on that pretext, an unprovoked plan of rebellion, upon the aſſurances they had of being ſupported by Elizabeth. They indeed pretended that freſh matter of oppoſition was preſented; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that Mary had, of late, behaved with unuſual circumſpection; and even pardoned the inſurgents at Edinburgh, though they had been declared rebels: nor had any attempts been made to violate the civil or religious liberties of the ſubject. On the contrary, Mary had given all the ſecurity in her power for the preſervation of both.

To take from her enemies all pretext of danger to their religion, on the 12th of July, ſhe emitted a proclamation for the aſſurance of religion, which was conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms. And ſhe took every opportunity to declare, that though ſhe believed her

her own religion to be the beſt, yet ſhe was open to conviction; and though ſhe could not endure the rude behaviour of Knox, yet ſhe would willingly hear diſputations and conferences in the ſcriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr. Erſkine of Dun, becauſe ſhe had an opinion of his moderation and mildneſs, as well as of his honeſty and integrity.

Though Mary's affairs at this time were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs, yet ſhe was deeply diſtreſſed in her mind. She had married a man who gave her hourly proofs how unworthy he was, not only of her hand but her notice. He was perpetually drunk. He haunted the company which he knew to be moſt diſagreeable to the queen, and young and beautiful as ſhe was, he had brought infection to her bed. It was in vain that her excellent prudence endeavoured to conceal his profligacy, for it broke out on all occaſions; and he brutally abuſed her even at public entertainments. To compleat all, he now headed a band of aſſaſſins, to murder her ſecretary, Rizio in her preſence.

Mary was at this time ſupping with the counteſs of Argyle, her brother, Rizio, and ſeveral other perſons. Lord Darnly led the way into the apartment by a private ſtaircaſe, and ſtood for ſome time leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks greatly alarmed the queen, who, nevertheleſs, kept ſilence. A little after lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conſpirators, ruſhed in, all armed. The queen demanded the reaſon

of this bold intruſion. Ruthven made her no anſwer; but ordered Rizzio to quit the place. Rizzio trembling with apprehenſion took hold of the queen's robes to put himſelf under her protection, who, on her part, ſtrove to interpoſe between the aſſaſſins and him. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and ſnatching a dagger from the king's ſide, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it in her preſence into Rizzio's boſom, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators and dragged into the anti-chamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds. The unhappy princeſs continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, and ſaid ſhe would weep no more; ſhe would now think of revenge. However ſhe pretended to forgive, and exerted her natural allurements ſo powerfully, that in a little time her huſband ſubmitted to her will. He gave up his accomplices to her reſentment, and retired with her to Dunbar, while ſhe, having collected an army, which the conſpirators had no power to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England.

Lord Darnley ſoon after took a journey to Glaſgow, and fell ſick there. Mary hearing of this, went to viſit him, and behaved ſo tenderly, that he reſolved to part with her no more; and ſoon after attended her to Edinburgh, which it was thought would be more favourable to his declining health. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but as the ſituation of that place was low, and the con-

courſe

courſe of perſons about the court neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate, ſhe fitted up an apartment for him in a houſe at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there converſed cordially with him, and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that ſhe told him ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was to be there celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning, the city was alarmed with a great noiſe; the houſe in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the ſuſpicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

The earl of Murray had ſet out for St. Andrew's the preceding day: but as he declared to one of his attendants, that lord Darnley would loſe his life before morning, he muſt have been acceſſary to, if not the contriver of the murder. Immediately after, he ſet out for France. There is all reaſon to believe, not only that Mary was ignorant of the deſign but that ſhe was convinced of Bothwell's innocence.

All orders of the ſtate, and the whole body of the people, began to demand juſtice on the ſuppoſed murderer; on which the queen referred the cauſe to the lords juſticiaries, by whom he was tried and acquitted. And not long after ſixteen lords were ſent to her in the

name of the whole parliament, intreating Mary, 1. To marry, 2. To marry one within the realm, and 3. Recommending lord Bothwell as the moſt proper perſon they knew.

Yet this was a fatal alliance to Mary; and thoſe who adviſed it, deſigned it ſhould. The proteſtant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animoſity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by their means widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an aſſociation was ſoon formed for protecting the young prince. Lord Hume was the firſt in arms; and leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen and Bothwell, in the caſtle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their eſcape; and Mary, at the head of a few forces, meeting the aſſociators within about ſix miles of Edinburgh, put herſelf into their hands, and was conducted by them into Edinburgh, amidſt the inſults and reproaches of the populace. From thence ſhe was ſent a priſoner to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name, where ſhe ſuffered all the ſeverities of an unkind keeper, with a feeling heart. Bothwell, fled to Dunbar, and thence to the Orkneys. Being purſued thither, he eſcaped in an open boat to Denmark, where he died about ten years after.

Queen Elizabeth, ſeeming to pity Mary, ſent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Scotland, to interpoſe in her behalf. He agreed with the rebellious lords, that ſhe ſhould reſign the crown in favour of her ſon, who was as yet

yet a minor; that ſhe ſhould appoint the earl of Murray, her natural brother, regent of the kingdom; and as he was then in France, that ſhe ſhould appoint a council till his arrival. In conſequence of this forced reſignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the ſixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindneſs of the earl of Murray; but even here ſhe was diſappointed; the earl, upon his return, called on her, but, inſtead of comforting her, as ſhe expected, loaded her with reproaches; and was her bitter enemy, (as he had been ſecretly before,) to the end of her life.

The calamities of the great, ſeldom fail of creating pity. Mary engaged a young gentleman, whoſe name was George Douglas, to aſſiſt her in eſcaping from the place where ſhe was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in diſguiſe in a ſmall boat, rowed by himſelf, a-ſhore. It was now that the news of her enlargement being ſpread abroad, the loyalty of the people ſeemed to revive. As Bothwell was no longer with her, many of the nobility ſigned a bond of aſſociation for her defence; and in a few days ſhe ſaw herſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men.

The earl of Murray, who had been declared regent, was not ſlow in aſſembling his forces; and although his army was inferior to that of the queen, he boldly took the field againſt her. A battle was fought at Langſide, near Glaſgow, which was entirely deciſive in his favour. Mary, now totally

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ruined, fled ſouthwards with great precipitation; * and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where ſhe hoped for protection from Elizabeth.

With theſe hopes ſhe embarked on board a fiſhing boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Wirkington in Cumberland, about thirty miles diſtant from Carliſle, whence ſhe immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to London, craving protection, and deſiring liberty to viſit the queen. Elizabeth immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and ſoon after diſpatched lord Scrope himſelf, and ſir Francis Knolles, to pay her all poſſible reſpect. Notwithſtanding theſe marks of diſtinction, the queen refuſed to admit Mary into her preſence, until ſhe had cleared her character from the aſperſions that it was ſtained with‡. It might, perhaps have been Elizabeth's duty to protect, and not to examine, her royal fugitive.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cauſe; and the accuſation was readily undertaken by Murray. The extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commiſſioners being appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, in which he himſelf was included. Theſe conferences were carried on for ſome time at the place firſt appointed; but

* A. D. 1568.

‡ By Elizabeth's own procurement.

but after a while, Elizabeth, ordered the commiſſioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were ſpun out by affected delays. At length when her advocates were required to anſwer, they refuſed, alledging, that as Mary was a ſovereign princeſs, ſhe could not be ſubject to any foreign tribunal. She herſelf deſired, that either ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted to recover her authority, or liberty given her for retiring into France. But Elizabeth was ſecretly reſolved to detain her ſtill, and ſhe was accordingly ſent to Tutbury caſtle, in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury.

One pretence for now detaining her was, the factions of her own ſubjects in Scotland. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Upon his death the kingdom relapſed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more aſſembled together, and became maſters of Edinburgh. They even ventured towards the borders of England, where they committed ſome diſorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth to ſuppreſs. She quickly ſent an army commanded by the earl of Suſſex, who entering Scotland, chaſtiſed all the partizans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his miſtreſs by harbouring Engliſh rebels.

But the deſigns and arts of Elizabeth did not reſt here; while ſhe kept up the moſt friendly

friendly correſpondence with Mary, with the moſt warm proteſtations of ſincerity, ſhe was far from aſſiſting her cauſe. It was her care to keep the factions in Scotland ſtill alive, to weaken the power of that nation; for this purpoſe ſhe weakened the party of the queen, that was now likely to prevail, and procuring the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray who was ſlain.

‡ Nothing could be more inſincere than the tenor of Elizabeth's commiſſions to try Mary: for ſhe was reſolved upon Mary's condemnation, or at leaſt upon protracting the proceedings in ſuch a manner as that her confinement ſhould be perpetual.

When the cauſe ſhall be farther tried, it will be proved, that ſome of thoſe who now accuſe the queen, ſubſcribed bonds for the murder of lord Darnley. The biſhop of Roſs produced Mary's inſtructions not to anſwer her adverſaries if they touched her honour; and demanded audience of Elizabeth, that they might inform her of their ſovereign's command, and to require that ſhe might be permitted to come in perſon, and vindicate her innocence before the queen, her council, and nobles. The biſhop, at the ſame time, preſented a memorial in writing, to the ſame purpoſe; and leave was granted to him and his colleagues to appear before Elizabeth on the third of December, where they repeated their demand of Mary being admitted to be heard in perſon. Elizabeth ſtill continued to wear her maſk of diſſimulation. She ſeemed exceſſively tender of Mary's honour, and promiſed

‡ A. D. 1568.

promiſed to reprimand and puniſh her adverſaries ſeverely, if they did not make good their charge againſt her; hinting, at the ſame time, that no medium was to be obſerved between Mary's entire acquittal, or condemnation, but ſhe again refuſed, upon the moſt unjuſt, and indeed affected, pretexts, to admit the unhappy princeſs to make her own defence in perſon. Elizabeth declared ſhe thought it reaſonable that ſhe ſhould be heard in her own cauſe; "but to determine (ſaid ſhe) before whom, when, and where, before I underſtand how her adverſaries will verify their allegation, I am not as yet reſolved; but after conferring with them, I ſhall give you an anſwer as to every point in reaſonable form." Mary's commiſſioners very juſtly objected to this manner of proceeding, as incompatible with the rules of equity in any common cauſe. A charge, ſaid they, is lodged, the ſuppoſed delinquent deſires to be heard in her own defence, but ſhe is precluded from that privilege, until her accuſers have adduced their proofs, and conſequently till her cauſe is prejudged. All they ſaid was in vain, though they urged that Mary's rebellious ſubjects had been admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, while ſhe herſelf was denied that privilege. At laſt ſhe proteſted, that whatſoever was done before Engliſh commiſſioners thereafter, ſhould be of no prejudice to their ſovereign. But Elizabeth carried her diſſimulation ſtill farther, till, at laſt, it became inconſiſtent with her former profeſſions; for ſhe ſaid that ſhe could not give

Mary

Mary a perſonal audience "unleſs ſhe found that her accuſers had more likely proofs than any yet adduced." This was a very extraordinary declaration. Elizabeth, ever ſince the firſt day of Mary's arrival in England, had refuſed to ſee her, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected of certain crimes; and yet in the anſwer before us, ſhe as good as promiſes that ſhe would admit Mary to her preſence, if thoſe crimes were proved againſt her.

Thus far appearances would bear hard upon the memory of Mary, had the ſmalleſt proof of the identity, or even the ſimilarity, of the hands, been brought to convict her. Elizabeth and her commiſſioners had all along treated her cauſe as the moſt important that had ever been heard in England. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards the deciſion; and the intereſt as well as the honour of Elizabeth was concerned in a full expoſiture of the evidences. I will venture to ſay, "that if the genuineneſs of the papers in queſtion could have admitted of a proof, the greateſt bigot in Mary's cauſe, either at home or abroad, muſt have deteſted her, and given up her defence." The proceeding of the Engliſh commiſſioners was the more unaccountable, as Mary again and again had armed her commiſſioners with powers to declare that thoſe papers were forged, and that ſhe could prove them to be ſo; as alſo, that ſome of her own ſubjects, who were aſſiſtants to her adverſaries, knew how to counterfeit her hand.

I ſhall juſt obſerve here, that Mary's enemies have miſtaken the meaning of her declinature of judgment, by omitting one half of her caſe, and miſ-ſtating the other. Mary was now not only a defendant, but a plaintiff. She had diſcovered lights from Argyle and Huntley, that enabled her to bring a direct charge againſt her enemies for committing the very murder of which they accuſed her. She demanded to be perſonally heard in ſupport of that charge; but what does Elizabeth ſay? "No, you muſt firſt diſprove the papers that have been brought againſt you." "That (replied Mary) I am ready to do as ſoon as they are produced, ſo that my friends and I can examine them." This indulgence, which could not have been refuſed to a common felon, was denied to a ſovereign princeſs. She begged even for duplicates of thoſe papers, and they too were denied. I hope, in this ſhort ſtate, her caſe is ſo far from being exaggerated, that it falls ſhort of the hardſhips ſhe ſuffered; and the feelings of humanity are the beſt advocates for her memory.

The duke of Norfolk, one of queen Elizabeth's commiſſioners, enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation. *Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet from his moderation, had never alarmed the jealouſy of the ſovereign. He was at this time a widower, and being of a ſuitable age to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his intereſts, made him deſirous

* A. D. 1568.

desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims. Yet while this nobleman made almost all the nobility of England confidents to his passion, he never had the courage, to open his intentions to the queen. At length he resolved to return to court and tell her the whole; but on the way, he was stopt by a messenger from the queen, and soon after committed to the Tower. Certain it is that the match was originally contrived and proposed by lord Murray.

The duke was too much beloved by his partizans in the North, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded; orders were immediately sent for their appearance at court; and the insurgent lords perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were prepared. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alledged, that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors from about the queen's person; and to restore the

duke

duke of Norfolk to his liberty. Their number amounted to four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they were miſerably deceived. The duke himſelf, for whoſe ſake they had revolted, uſed every method that his circumſtances would permit, to aſſiſt the queen; the inſurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they found no other expedient but to diſperſe themſelves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent to the caſtle of Lochlevin; Weſtmorland, after attempting to excite the Scotch to revolt, was obliged to eſcape into Flanders. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little ſucceſs. Some ſeverities were uſed againſt theſe revolters, and eight ſuffered by the hands of the executioner. The queen was ſo well pleaſed with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, * that ſhe now releaſed him from the Tower; allowed him to return home, only exacting a promiſe from him, not to proceed any farther in his pretenſions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave, but undeſigning nobleman. He had not been releaſed above a year, when new projects were ſet on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, ſecretly fomented by Rodolphi, an inſtrument of the court of Rome, and the biſhop of Roſs, Mary's miniſter in England. It was concerted by

* A. D. 1569.

by them, that Norfolk ſhould renew his deſigns upon Mary, to which it is probable he was prompted by paſſion; and this nobleman at laſt entered into their ſchemes. It was agreed, that the duke ſhould enter into all Mary's intereſts; while on the other hand, the duke of Alva promiſed to tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to join Norfolk as ſoon as he ſhould be ready to begin. This ſcheme was ſo ſecretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke having ſent a ſum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, omitted truſting the ſervant with the contents of his meſſage; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger ſum than the duke mentioned to him, began to miſtruſt ſome plot, and brought the money with the duke's letter to the ſecretary of ſtate. It was by the artifices of that great ſtateſman, that the duke's ſervants were brought to make a full confeſſion of their maſter's guilt. The duke was inſtantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers paſſed ſentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, ſigned the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice

juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. A few months after, the duke of Northumberland being delivered up by the regent, underwent a ſimilar trial, and was brought to the ſcaffold. All theſe ineffectual ſtruggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots, only rivetted her chains; and ſhe now found no relief but in the reſources of her own mind, which diſtreſs had ſoftened, refined, and improved. From henceforth ſhe continued for ſeveral years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's ſuſpicions; and only waited for ſome new effort of her adherents to receive that fate, which policy, not mercy, deferred.

Some years after, the earl of Bothwell being ſick unto death in the caſtle of Malmay, made ſolemn faith of what here followeth, viz.

"The biſhop of Schonen, together with four great lords, namely, Berin, Gowes, governor of the caſtle of Malmay, Otto Braw, of the caſtle of Ottenbruchet, Paris Braw, of the caſtle of Veſcut, and Monſ. Gullenſterne, of the caſtle of Falkenſtrie, and together likewiſe with the four bailiffs of the town, prayed the ſaid earl to declare freely and truly what he knew of the death of the late king Henry, (Darnley) and of the authors thereof, according as he ſhould anſwer before God at the day of judgment, where all things, how ſecret ſoever they may be here, ſhall be laid open.

"Then the ſaid earl declaring that through his preſent great weakneſs, he was not able to diſcourſe

diſcourſe all the ſeveral ſteps of theſe things, teſtified that the queen was innocent of that death, and that only he himſelf, his friends, and ſome of the nobility, were the authors of it."

And being thereafter preſſed by thoſe lords to name ſome of the perſons that were guilty, he named my lord James earl of Murray, my lord Robert Abbot of Holyrood-houſe, (now earl of Orkney) both of them baſtard brothers of the queen; the earls of Crawford, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, my lord Boyd, the lairds of Lethington, Bucclough, and Grange.

The innocence of Mary, with regard to her huſband's death, was ſo much cleared up by Bothwell's confeſſion, and other evidences, that the counteſs of Lennox, his mother, acquitted her, in the moſt expreſs terms, of having any concern in the murder.

"This good lady (ſays Mary in a letter tranſmitted from the Scots college at Paris, to her ambaſſador the archbiſhop of Glaſgow) was, thanks to God, in very good correſpondence with me theſe five or ſix years by gone, and has confeſſed to me by ſundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preſerve, the injury ſhe did me by the unjuſt purſuits which ſhe allowed to go out againſt me in her name, through bad information; but principally, ſhe ſaid, through the expreſs orders of the queen of England, and the perſuation of her council, who alſo took much ſolicitude that ſhe and I might never come to good underſtanding together. But how ſoon ſhe came

to

to know of my innocence, ſhe deſiſted from any further purſuit againſt me; nay went ſo far as to refuſe her conſent to any thing they ſhould act againſt me in her name."

Notwithſtanding Bothwell's confeſſion, we are not to imagine that the noblemen and gentlemen whom he named as being concerned in Darnley's death, were actually acceſſaries to that murder; but it is pretty plain that they had declared themſelves to be his enemies; and in the barbarous manner of that time, when aſſaſſination was ſcarcely looked upon with horror, he conſidered them as participant of the crime which he himſelf committed. Mary (who, notwithſtanding her misfortunes, preſerved a moſt amazing ſerenity of mind) underſtanding that Elizabeth did all ſhe could to ſuppreſs Bothwell's dying declaration, ordered the archbiſhop of Glaſgow to ſend one Monceaux to Denmark, to obtain an exemplification of the ſame.

One Barbay of Gartely was at London when Bothwell's dying declaration came to Elizabeth's hands; and returning to his native country of Scotland, he talked of it with great freedom, as being a full refutation of all the charges againſt Mary for being concerned in her huſband's death.

Having thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whoſe conduct and misfortunes make ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in this reign, we now return to ſome tranſactions, prior in point of time, but of leſs conſideration.

In

In the beginning of this reign, the Hugonots in France, called in the protection of the Engliſh; ‡ and in order to ſecure their confidence, offered to put Havre into the queen's hands: a proffer which ſhe immediately accepted. She wiſely conſidered, that as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much more importance than Calais. Accordingly three thouſand Engliſh took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found ſo little capable of being defended, that it was immediately abandoned. Havre itſelf was obliged to capitulate ſhortly after. Although the garriſon was reinforced to ſix thouſand men: and every means was employed for putting the town in a poſture of defence againſt the French army that was preparing to beſiege it, yet it felt a ſeverer enemy within its walls; for the plague had got into the town, and committed ſuch havock among the ſoldiers, that an hundred commonly died in one day. The garriſon diminiſhed to fifteen hundred men, finding the French army indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the Engliſh loſt all hopes of ever making another eſtabliſhment in France. This misfortune was productive of one ſtill more dreadful; for the Engliſh army carried back the plague with them to London.

§ This ſeems to have been the only diſaſter that, for above thirteen years, diſturbed the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and reſolute, attended to the ſlighteſt alarm

‡ A. D. 1562. § A. D. 1563.

alarms, and repreſſed them before they were capable of producing their effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her diſſimulation made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was ſuch, that her commands were obeyed as ſtatutes; and ſhe took care that her parliaments ſhould never venture to circumſcribe her power. In her ſchemes of government ſhe was aſſiſted by lord Burleigh, and Sir Anthony Bacon, two of the moſt able miniſters that ever directed the affairs of England; but while ſhe committed to them all the drudgery of duty, Robert, earl of Leiceſter, engroſſed her favour.

During this peaceable government, England furniſhes but few materials for hiſtory. While France was torn with internal convulſions; ‡ while above ten thouſand of the Hugonots were maſſacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low Countries were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the reſt of Europe was teeming with plots, ſeditions, and cruelty; the Engliſh were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures; and ſetting an example of arts and learning to all the reſt of the world. Except the ſmall part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign tranſactions, there ſcarce paſſed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for ſome time ariſen diſguſts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's having rejected the ſuit

‡ A. D. 1572.

of Philip might probably have given riſe to theſe diſtruſts; and after that, Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch, tended to widen the breach. This began as uſual on each ſide, with petty hoſtilities; the Spaniards, on their part, and ſent into Ireland a body of ſeven hundred men, who built a fort there; but were ſoon after cut off to a man, by the duke of Ormond. On the other hand the Engliſh, under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the New World. This was the firſt Engliſhman that ſailed round the globe; and the queen was ſo well pleaſed with his valour and ſucceſs, that ſhe accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip which had atchieved ſo memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hoſtilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England; and while the power of Spain, as well as the monarch's inclinations, were very formidable to the queen, ſhe began to look out for an alliance that might ſupport her againſt ſuch a dangerous adverſary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretenſions to Elizabeth; and though ſhe was near twenty-five years older than he, he took the reſolution to prefer his ſuit in perſon, * and paid her a viſit in ſecret at Greenwich. It appears that though his figure was not advantageous, his addreſs was pleaſing. The queen ordered her miniſters to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the ſolemnization of their nuptials, and every thing ſeemed to ſpeak an ap-

* A. D. 1581.

proaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced to change her condition; ſhe appeared doubtful, irreſolute, and melancholy; ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights without any ſleep, till at laſt her prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was diſmiſſed.

About this time ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt her, many of which ſhe was willing to impute to the queen of Scots. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, ſon to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; ‡ and ſhortly after he was condemned and executed. Soon after William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occaſion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a deſperate conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate his benefactor. He had conſulted upon the juſtice of this both with the pope's nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to perſevere in his reſolution. He therefore aſſociated himſelf with one Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign; and it was determined to ſhoot the queen, while ſhe was taking the air on horſeback. But while they were watching an opportunity, the earl of Weſtmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain

‡ A. D. 1584.

hopes, that by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry being thrown into priſon confeſſed the whole. He was ſhortly after condemned and executed.

Theſe attempts, which were ſet on foot by the catholic party, ſerved to increaſe the ſeverity of the laws againſt them. Popiſh prieſts were baniſhed the kingdom; thoſe who harboured them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in conſequence of this ſevere edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herſelf without ſome ſhare of the puniſhment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who had always been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe; and was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulett, and Sir Drue Drury, inflexible and rigid men.

Theſe conſpiracies ſerved to prepare the way for Mary's ruin. Elizabeth's miniſters had long been waiting for ſome inſtance of the captive queen's reſentment, which they might convert into treaſon; and this was not long wanting. * About this time one John Ballard, a popiſh prieſt, who had been bred in the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims, reſolved to compaſs the death of the queen; and with that reſolution came into England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, with the aſſumed name of captain Forteſcue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an aſſaſſination

* A. D. 1586.

ſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion. The firſt perſon he addreſſed himſelf to was Anthony Babington of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and plentiful fortune. This perſon had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cauſe, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence of ſome other aſſociates; Barnwell, a gentleman of a noble family in Ireland, Charnock, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, Abington, whoſe father had been cofferer to the houſehold, and John Savage, who had ſerved in the low countries, and was under a vow to deſtroy the queen. He did not deſire any aſſociate, and refuſed for ſome time to permit any to ſhare with him. He challenged the whole to himſelf; and it was with ſome difficulty that he was induced to depart from his prepoſterous ambition. They determined to apprize Mary of the deſign; and it was ſaid, they effected it by conveying their letters to her by means of a brewer that ſupplied the family with ale, through a chink, in the wall of her apartment.

Such was the ſcheme laid by the conſpirators; and nothing ſeemed ſo certain as its ſucceſs. But the miniſters of Elizabeth were privy to it in every ſtage, and only retarded their diſcovery, till the meditated guilt was ripe for conviction. Ballard was attended by one Maude, a catholic prieſt, who was in pay with Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate. One Polly, another of his ſpies, had inſinu-

ated himſelf among the conſpirators, and gave an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after one Giffard a prieſt came over, and diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to Walſingham.

The plot being now ripe for execution, and the evidence againſt the conſpirators inconteſtable, a warrant was iſſued for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington, and the reſt, they covered themſelves with various diſguiſes, and endeavoured to keep themſelves concealed. But they were ſoon diſcovered, thrown into priſon, and brought to trial. In their examination they flatly contradicted each other: but the leaders were forced to make a full confeſſion. Fourteen were condemned and executed, ſeven of whom denied the whole with their lateſt breath‡.

The execution of theſe wretched men only prepared the way for one of ſtill greater importance, in which a captive queen was to ſubmit to the unjuſt deciſions of thoſe who had no right to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, Mary remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her aſtoniſhment was equal to her anguiſh, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of thoſe unhappy men. She was at that time mounted on horſe-back, going a hunting; and

‡ It is highly probable, the whole was a mere fiction, contrived for a pretence to put Queen Mary out of the way,

and was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle, in Northamptonſhire.

After her arrival here, her treatment was barbarous beyond precedent, and almoſt beyond belief. It was not enough for Mary's enemies to reſolve upon her death, unleſs it was preceded by the moſt mortifying circumſtances of diſgrace. Elizabeth remembered Mary's promiſe that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen; and ſhe could not bear her magnanimous perſeverance in fulfilling it. Great as Elizabeth was, ſhe had a ſtrong tincture of low, feminine envy; and ſhe even wantonly endeavoured to ſubdue Mary's high ſpirit by multiplying her hardſhips and diſgraces.

Paulet had orders to ſtrip her of her money and jewels; calling to his aſſiſtance one Wade, they burſt into Mary's room, who was then in bed, and ill of a paralytic diſorder ariſing from her confinement. He demanded her money in the moſt ruffian-like manner, and upon her refuſing to deliver up the key of her cabinet, he brought crows and hammers to break it open. Mary upon this delivered up her key; and Wade ſeized between five and ſix thouſand crowns in ready money. After this, he confined her ſervants to their ſeveral rooms (which he likewiſe ſearched for money) till he ſhould receive orders from court for their being diſcharged from their attendance on their miſtreſs.

Mary had two ſecretaries, Nau, and Curl, the former a French, and the latter a Scotchman; but neither of them was poſſeſſed of courage or conſtancy, ſufficient to endure the racks; and therefore the evidence they gave againſt Mary (if any) ought to go for nothing. Their chambers were in like manner rifled; their papers and perſons ſecured; and both of them examined in order to fix upon Mary the charge of being concerned in Babington's aſſociation plot. Elizabeth's next deliberation (now that ſhe was poſſeſſed of all the evidences and papers that ſhe could deſire) was in what manner, and under what denomination, Mary ſhould be tried. Two methods were ſuggeſted; the firſt was to try her upon the general words of the ſtatute of the twenty fifth of Edward the third, "whereby he is made guilty of treaſon, who ſhall compaſs or imagine the deſtruction of the king or queen, raiſe war in his or her dominions, or adhere to his or her enemies." The other was to try her by the aſſociating act of the twenty-ſeventh of Elizabeth. The latter method was approved of, becauſe, when that act paſſed, Mary was in England, and, according to the lawyers, owed a local allegiance to queen Elizabeth. The deſignation under which ſhe was to be tried came next under conſideration. The lawyers were of opinion that no foreign name of dignity could be primarily taken notice of by the engliſh law, though it might by an "alias dicta," which went for nothing after the perſon was certainly and properly deſcribed. They therefore deſigned her in the

the commiſſion which was iſſued for her trial, "Mary, daughter and heireſs of James the fifth, lately king of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France."

|| Thirty-ſix of the commiſſioners arriving at the caſtle of Fotheringay, preſented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to ſubmit to a trial for her late conſpiracy. Mary peruſed the letter with great compoſure; and received the intelligence without emotion or aſtoniſhment. She ſaid, however, that ſhe wondered the queen of England ſhould command her as a ſubject, who was an independent ſovereign like herſelf. She would never, ſhe ſaid, ſtoop to any condeſcenſion which would leſſen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her poſterity. The laws of England, ſhe obſerved, were unknown to her; ſhe was deſtitute of counſel; nor could ſhe conceive who were to be her peers, as ſhe had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that inſtead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as ſhe had hoped to obtain, ſhe had been confined in priſon ever ſince her arrival in the kingdom; ſo that ſhe derived neither benefit, nor ſecurity from them. When the commiſſioners preſſed her to ſubmit to the queen's pleaſure, otherwiſe they would proceed againſt her as contumacious, ſhe declared ſhe would rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths, than own herſelf a ſubject to any prince on earth. That, however, ſhe was ready to vindicate herſelf in a full and free parliament, as for aught ſhe

|| Oct. 11.

knew, this meeting of commiſſioners was deviſed againſt her life, on purpoſe to take it away with a pretext of juſtice. She exhorted them to conſult their own conſciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extenſive than that of England. At length, after a diſpute of two days, the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquiſhed her objections by repreſenting that ſhe injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the ſatisfaction of all mankind. This obſervation made ſuch an impreſſion upon her, that ſhe agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her proteſt, of diſallowing all ſubjection. This they refuſed; but ſatisfied her, by entering it upon record.

The trial then proceeded with a ſhew of ſolemnity and order. Mary repeated her proclamations, and renewed her proteſts. The capital charge urged againſt her by the crown lawyers was, her being concerned in, or having knowledge of, Babington's conſpiracy. Had they fairly made good this, it would have brought her under the act of the twenty-ſeventh of Elizabeth, upon which ſhe was tried; but all they produced to ſupport it was Babington's own confeſſion while under ſentence of death, and ſome copies of letters ſaid to have been written by her to Babington, and though not ſo much as pretended to be of her hand, were drawn up ſo as to agree with his confeſſion. Among the other abſurdities with which theſe letters were

were ſtuffed, one was, her deſiring Babington to apply to the earl of Northumberland, who was but a boy, and to the earl of Arundel, who was a cloſe priſoner, for aſſiſtance. Upon mention of the Howard family, Mary, who till then had continued unmoved, burſt into tears; "Alas, ſaid ſhe, how much has that noble houſe of Howard ſuffered for my ſake." She then again ſolemnly denied her being concerned with Babington in the aſſaſſination plot; and when a letter was produced written in her cypher approving of it, ſhe poſitively decared that it never was written by her, or by her order; and took notice that as Walſingham, though one of her judges, was her avowed enemy, and was in poſſeſſion of her cyphers, it was eaſy for him to forge ſuch a letter for her deſtruction. She owned that ſhe had been earneſt with Elizabeth to mitigate the penalties of the catholics; and that ſhe had obeyed the dictates of nature in endeavouring to engage her friends to deliver her: "But, ſaid ſhe, I would not purchaſe the higheſt felicity on earth with the ſmalleſt taint of blood, far leſs that of a queen and a ſiſter." She concluded this part of her defence with farther proofs of the falſhoods alledged againſt her, and drew from Walſingham a moſt ſolemn, aukward apology of his own ſincerity and impartiality, which all who heard him diſbelieved.

The crown lawyers next preſſed her ſecretary Curl's depoſition as an evidence of her guilt. I have more than once obſerved how little regard ought to be paid to confeſſions extorted either by the fear or feeling (for they

are both the ſame) of the rack. There cannot be the leaſt queſtion that the confeſſions of Babington, Ballard, Nau, and Curl (if they made any) were extorted from them in that manner. Mary acknowledged that ſhe always believed her two ſecretaries to be honeſt men; and if they had accuſed her in their depoſitions to have dictated an anſwer to Babington's letter, they had committed two great faults; the firſt, in violating the oath of ſecrecy which they had taken to her at their admiſſion; and ſecondly in inventing ſo deteſtable a calumny againſt her, their ſovereign and their miſtreſs; and all that can be drawn from it amounts to no more than, it comes from two perfidious men.

"And, O good God? (ſays ſhe) in what a deſperate condition is the majeſty and ſafety of princes, if they depend upon the writings and witneſſes of their ſecretaries, who are ſubject to all the frailties that other men are ſubject to? Why did they not bring my ſecretaries before me to atteſt it to my face, which I am confident they duſt not do? but (continues ſhe) you are noble lawyers and judges, to put Babington to death without bringing him before me, to open his mouth by torments to tell a lie; and then to ſhut it up for ever againſt the truth. And if my ſecretaeies be alive, why do you not (as I have ſaid) bring them before me?

"As to my deſiring the aſſiſtance of foreign princes, who is not deſirous of liberty that are in thraldrom? I am no ſubject to your queen: I have been theſe many years her priſoner. The many offers I have made to her

her have been rejected; my ſickneſſes have increaſed on me; and I have been denied aid and aſſiſtance in them. And is it ſuch a crime in me as deſerves your conſideration, to deſire to be ſet at liberty?"

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain, her treatment was very ſevere. She deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of ſuch notes as ſhe had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refuſed her. She demanded a copy of her proteſt; but her requeſt was not complied with; ſhe even required an advocate to plead her cauſe againſt ſo many learned lawyers, as had undertaken to urge her accuſations; but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of ſome days, * ſentence of death was pronounced againſt her in the Star-chamber in Weſtminſter.

Though the condemning a ſovereign princeſs at a tribunal to which ſhe owed no ſubjection, was an injuſtice that muſt ſtrike the moſt inattentive, yet the parliament of England, who met four days after ‡, did not fail to approve the ſentence, and to go ſtill farther, in preſenting an addreſs to the queen, deſiring that it might be put into execution. But Elizabeth ſtill pretended to poſſeſs, an horror for ſuch ſeverity. She intreated them to find ſome expedient to ſave her from the neceſſity of taking a ſtep ſo repugnant to her inclination. The parliament underſtood her well, reiterated their ſolicitations: and remonſtrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects, and her

* Oct. 25. ‡ Oct. 29.

her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible; but at the ſame time permitted Mary's ſentence to be made public; § and lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk to the council, were ſent to apprize her of it, and of the popular clamour for its ſpeedy execution.

Upon receiving this information, Mary ſeemed no way moved; but inſiſted that ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants, ſhe died a martyr to the catholic religion. She ſaid, that as the Engliſh often embrued their hands in the blood of their own ſovereigns, it was not to be wondered at, that they exerciſed their cruelty towards her. She wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth, as follows:

"Madam,

"I give thanks to God with all my heart, who, by the ſentence of death hath been pleaſed to put an end to the tedious pilgrimage of my life. I deſire not that it may be prolonged, having had too long a time to try the bitterneſs of it. I beſeech your majeſty, ſince I am to expect no favour from ſome zealous miniſters of ſtate, who hold the firſt places in your councils, I may receive from you only, and from no other, theſe following favours. In the firſt place, I deſire, that ſince it is allowed me to hope for a burial in England, I may be decently interred, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church, of which I am a member, and in which faith all your predeceſſors and mine lived and died. And when my enemies are ſatisfied with the ſhedding of my blood, that

§ Dec. 6.

that my ſervants may be allowed to carry my bones into France, to be there interred, with the bones of the queen, my moſt honoured mother. Secondly, I beſeech your majeſty, in the apprehenſion which I have of the tyranny of thoſe to whoſe power you abandon me, that I may not ſuffer in any private place; but in the view of my ſervants and other people; who may give a teſtimony of my faith, and of my obedience to the true church, and defend this period of my life, againſt the falſe reports which my adverſaries may contrive againſt me. In the third place, I require, that my ſervants who have attended on me with great fidelity during ſo many afflictions, may have free leave to return where they pleaſe, and enjoy thoſe ſmall legacies, which in my laſt will, my poverty hath bequeathed them. I conjure you, Madam, by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, by the nearneſs of our conſanguinity, by the memory of Henry the ſeventh, our common father, and by the title of a queen, which I carry to my grave, not to deny me thoſe reaſonable demands, but by one word under your hand, to grant me an aſſurance of them, and I ſhall die, as I lived,

Your moſt affectionate ſiſter,

Mary R."

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary ſentence were ſpread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremoſt who attempted to avert the threatned blow. He ſent over Believre as an

an extraordinary ambaſſador, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her ſon, was, as in duty obliged, ſtill more preſſing in her behalf. He diſpatched one Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to ſpare the life of his parent, and mixing threats in caſe of a refuſal. Elizabeth treated his remonſtrances with the utmoſt indignation; and when the Scotch ambaſſador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen anſwered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when ſolicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, appeared diſpoſed to proceed to extremities; but when her mininiſters urged her to ſtrike the blow, her ſcruples ſeemed to return.

She appeared to be in great perplexity; and affected to be in much difficulty and diſtreſs. ‡ In this ſituation, ſhe one day called her ſecretary, Daviſon, whom ſhe ordered to draw the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that ſhe intended to keep it by her in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the delivery of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant, adding with a ſavage inhumanity, "Go and tell Walſingham what I have done; though I am afraid, poor ſoul, he will die with grief when he hears it." She commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the ſeal affixed to it. Next morning, ſhe laid the affair before the council, who unanimouſly reſolved, that the warrant ſhould be immediately put in execution. Accordingly, Beale,

‡ Feb. 1. A. D. 1587.

Beale, clerk of the council, ſummoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Kent, Shrewſbury, Derby, and Cumberland; and the two former ſet out for Fotheringay caſtle, accompanied by two executioners, and arrived there on Feb. 7.

After Beale's departure, the queen told Daviſon, ſhe had changed her mind. And yet ſhe never called Beale back, tho' there were ſeven days between his departure, and queen Mary's execution!---Artifice all!---Falſhood and diſſimulation, almoſt without parallel!

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. She heard the death-warrant read with her uſual compoſure, though ſhe could not help expreſſing her ſurprize at the queen of England! She again abjured her being privy to any conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Teſtament, which happened to lie on the table. She deſired that her confeſſor might be permitted to attend her; which, however, theſe zealots refuſed. After the earls had retired, ſhe ate ſparingly at ſupper, while ſhe comforted her attendants, (who continued weeping and lamenting their miſtreſs) with a chearful coontenance; telling them, they ought not to mourn, but rejoice, at the proſpect of her ſpeedy deliverance from a world of miſery. Towards the end of ſupper, ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order

on their knees, and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveneſs; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn ſeparation.

After this, ſhe reviewed her will, and peruſed the inventory of her effects. Theſe ſhe bequeathed to different perſons, and divided what money ſhe had, among her domeſtics, recommending them in letters to the king of France, and the duke of Guiſe. Then going to bed at her uſual hour, ſhe paſſed part of the night in ſound repoſe; and riſing, ſpent the remainder in prayer, and acts of devotion. Towards morning, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, the only one which ſhe had reſerved for this ſolemn occaſion. Thomas Andrews, the under-ſheriff of the county, then entering, he informed her that the hour wus come, and he muſt attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that ſhe was ready; and bidding her ſervants farewel, ſhe proceeded, ſupported by two of her guards, and followed the ſheriff, with a ſerene, compoſed aſpect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In paſſing through an hall adjoining to her chamber, Sir Andrew Melvil, maſter of her houſhold, fell upon his knees, and ſhedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not, ſaid ſhe, but rather rejoice. "Mary Stuart will ſoon be freed from all "her cares. Tell my friends that I die con"ſtant in my religion, and firm in my af"fection and fidelity to Scotland and France.

"God

"God forgive them that have long deſired "my end, and have thirſted for my blood, "as the hart panteth for the water-brook. "Thou O God, who art truth itſelf, and "perfectly underſtandeſt the inmoſt thoughts "of my heart, knoweſt how greatly I have "deſired that the realms of Scotland and "England might be united. Commend me "to my ſon, and aſſure him that I have "done nothing prejudicial to the ſtate, or "the crown of Scotland, Admoniſh him to "perſevere in friendſhip with the queen of "England, and ſee that thou doſt him faith-"ful ſervice. And ſo good, Melvil farewel; "once again farewel, good Melvil, and "grant the aſſiſtance of thy prayers to thy "queen and thy miſtreſs." In this place ſhe was received by the two noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her phyſician, apothecary, and two female attendants, to be preſent at her execution. She then paſſed into another hall, the noblemen and the ſheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train; where was a ſcaffold erected and covered with black. As ſoon as ſhe was ſeated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, ſtanding without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which ſhe deſired him to forbear, as ſhe was firmly reſolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with ſpectators, who beheld her with pity and diſtreſs, while her beauty, though dimmed with age and affliction, gleamed through her ſufferings, and

was

was ſtill remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent obſerving, that in her devotions ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched for the ſufferings of him whom it repreſented. She now began with the aid of her two women, to undreſs for the block; and the executioner alſo lent his hand to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be attended by ſuch ſervants. Her two women burſting into tears, and loud exclamations of ſorrow, ſhe turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them; and having given them her bleſſing, deſired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and aſking her pardon, ſhe ſaid ſhe forgave them, and all the authors of her deaths, as freely as ſhe hoped forgiveneſs from her Maker, and then once more made a ſolemn preteſtation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief; and ſhe laid herſelf down without any fear or trepidation. Then reciting a pſalm, and repeating a pious ejaculation, her head was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes by the executioner. He inſtantly held it up to the ſpectators, ſtreaming with blood, and agitated with the convulſions of death; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies." The earl of Kent replied Amen, while

while the reſt of the ſpectators wept and ſighed at this affecting ſpectacle: for flattery and zeal alike gave place to ſtronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity, a princeſs unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortunes. Yet how far more deſirable was her ſtate, than that of her royal murderer?

Elizabeth upon hearing the news, ſeemed filled with indignation againſt her miniſters. She committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for this miſdemeanor. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds; in conſequence of which he remained a long time in cuſtody, and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him.

While he was incuſtody, he wrote his apology, to this effect: "That when he delivered the death warrant into the queen's hand, ſhe immediately ſigned it, deſiring it might receive the ſanction of the great ſeal. She broke out into paſſionate expreſſions againſt Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drue Drury, becauſe they had not "ſpared her this trouble," and deſired Walſingham would feel "their pulſes about it." After the great ſeal was affixed, ſhe blamed Daviſon for his haſte, ſaying, "a better courſe might be taken." On the third day after the council diſpatched Beale with the warrant, Daviſon aſked her, if ſhe had changed her mind? ſhe anſwered, "No;

"No; but another courſe might have been deviſed:" and aſked if he had received any anſwer from Pawlet? he produced the letter, in which Pawlet flatly refuſed, to do any thing inconſiſtent with juſtice and honour. Then ſhe exclaimed in a violent paſſion, againſt thoſe "preciſe fellows;" but ſaid, "there were ſome perſons who would ſtill do it for her ſake." He declared alſo, that on the very day of Mary's death, ſhe had chid him, "becauſe ſhe was not yet executed."

Could this wretched woman believe, there is a God?

It is hard to ſay, whether her mercy or ſincerity was more conſpicuous through-out this whole affair! Let men applaud this great queen at their pleaſure: but how will ſhe appear before the God of truth?

Mary was conſidered by her contemporaries, and even her enemies, as the ſtandard of all female accompliſhments, with exquiſite harmony of ſhape and dignity of mien. Her limbs were turned with a preciſion and beauty that the greateſt grecian ſtatuaries might have made their models. Few or none of her ſex equalled her in muſic or dancing; and ſome ſpecimens of her embroidery are ſtill extant, which diſcover an uncommon taſte for her deſigning and drawing.

She was formed by nature to bear adverſity better than proſperity; and ſhe retained the notions of reſpect that was due to her birth and rank to her laſt hour.

After Mary's execution none of her ſervants were allowed to approach her body, which

which was removed to an adjoining room, where it lay for ſome days covered with a coarſe cloth, which had once belonged to a billiard table; but the ſcaffold, the frocks of the executioners, the block, and every thing that was ſtained with her blood, were burnt.

End of the Second Volume.